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*Michael Norton*

THE  
ABRIDGMENT  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REFORMATION  
OF THE  
Church of *ENGLAND*.

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By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

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# THE PREFACE.



*The Bulk and Price of the two Volumes of the History of our Reformation which I have published, being such, that every one cannot find the Money to buy them, or the Leisure to read them, I have been desired by many to contract what I prosecuted more largely in that Work, and bring it into a less Compass.*

*I know Abridgments are generally hurtful: In them Men receive such a slight Tincture of Knowledge, as only feeds Vanity, and furnishes Discourse, but does not give so clear a View of things, nor so solid an Instruction as may be had in more copious Writings. And as it is a grievous Imposition on that time which ought to be imployed to better uses, to draw out that which might be expressed in few words, to such a length, that it frights some from the study of*

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*Books, which might have been of excellent use, if they had not been too Voluminous; and oppress the Patience of those who are resolved to acquire Knowledge in the most labourious Methods; so it is on the other hand a great Prejudice to the Improvement of Learning, when things are too much contracted, and such hints are only given, as may be the Seeds of excellent Notions, perhaps in very rich and fruitful Minds: for copious Enlargements are often necessary to make the greatest part who are generally slow and heavy in their Apprehensions, enter into those Notions which we set before them. It is a true Judgment of Men and Things, that must direct us to seek and keep that Mean betwixt those Extreames that may be of the greatest Advantage to the World.*

*What is said of Notions and Matters of Science, is likewise applicable to Matters of Fact. History is of little use, if we consider it only as a Tale of what was transacted in former times. Then it becomes most profitable, when the Series and Reasons of Affairs, and secret Councils and Ends, together with the true Characters of Eminent Men, are rightly presented to us, that so upon the light which is given us of past times, we may form Prudent Judgments of the present time, and probable Conjectures of what is to come; and may frame such a true Idea of Men and Parties, as may both enlighten our Understandings more by giving us a freer Prospect of Humane Affairs, and may better direct us in our conduct.*

*This*

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This made me judge it necessary to open things in my History as largely as my Materials could serve me : and because I writ upon a subject that had been much contradicted, I was obliged not only to add a great Collection of Records for my Justification, which makes the half of each Volume, but likewise in the History it self, to give often an account of the grounds on which I went. I also added an Appendix, containing the more remarkable Calumnies, by which the Writers of the Roman Communion have endeavoured to corrupt the History of that time ; together with a Confutation of them. I was likewise careful to set down many particular Curiosities relating to the Proceedings of Parliament, of the Importance of which, every Reader will not be aware at first. I gave also a large account of all the Arguments that prevailed with the Divines, as well as the Reasons that wrought on States-men, in the changes that were made ; in which the Reader may find an Apology for the Reformation, interwoven with its History.

In all these particulars, there was matter enough for an Abridger to cut off a great deal, and yet to give such an account of the whole Transaction, as might in a great measure satisfy even Inquisitive Persons. I understood that another was about this, which made me resolve on doing it my self ; for none can so truly comprehend, and by consequence abridge any Book as the Author himself ; who, as he knows his own meaning best ; so he who has fixed his Thoughts long



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upon my Argument, will be best able to judge what are the things and Circumstances that are of the greatest Importance, and are most necessary to be rightly understood. In compiling this *Abridgment*, I have wholly waved every thing that belonged to the Records, and the Proof of what I relate, or to the Confutation of the falsehoods that run through the Popish Historians. All that is to be found in the History at large; and therefore in this *Abridgment* every thing is to be taken upon trust, and those that desire a fuller Satisfaction, are to seek it in the Volumes which I have already published. The Particularities relating to the Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament could not be brought within so short an Abstract. Many Digressions and the Deductions of Arguments, are either past over, or but shortly touched. He that desires to be particularly informed in any or all of these, must resort to the History it self.

All that I pretend to have done in this *Abridgment* is, that I have given a true and clear account of the Progress of the Reformation, in all those Windings, and Advances, and Declinings, through which it was carried from its first beginnings, till it was brought to a compleat settlement under Queen Elizabeth: and this is done in such a manner, that I hope the Reader shall not find much cause to complain that the endeavouring to be short has made me either obscure or defective. In the Prefaces to the two Volumes I endeavoured to clear the Readers mind of the Prejudices which may be apt to arise

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arise, either from a slight and general View of this matter, or from the false Relations that have been formerly made of it. I shall not undertake to abridge them, for I brought them there into as narrow a compass as the weight of the matter did admit of: Therefore I refer the Reader that Labours under the ill Effects of such Impressions to the Prefaces themselves; and I shall add here that which is the last part of the Preface to the second Volume, because it may be of more general use, and is accommodated to all, that as may be supposed, will have the curiosity to read this Abridgment, that so they may come to it with a true Idea of the Nature of Religion in general and of the Christian Religion in particular.

That Religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the nature of Man, for improving his Faculties, governing his Actions, and securing the Peace of every mans Conscience, and of the Societies of Mankind in common, is a truth so plain, that without further arguing about it all will agree to it. Every part of Religion is then to be judged by its Relation to the main ends of it; And since the Christian Doctrine was revealed from Heaven, as the most perfect and proper way that ever was, for the advancing the good of Mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy Faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was designed. And all the Additions that have been made to it, since it was first delivered to the World, are justly to be suspected; especially where it is manifest at first View, that they were intended to serve carnal

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carnal and secular ends. What can be reasonably supposed in the Papacy, where the Popes are chosen by such Intrigues, either of the two Crowns, the Nephews of the former Pope, or the craft of some aspiring Men, to entitle them to Infallability or Universal Jurisdiction? What can we think of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, or preserving them from it by tricks, or some mean Pageantry, but that it is a foul peice of Merchandise? What is to be said of Implicit Obedience, the Priestly Dominion over Consciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the Peoples hands, and the Worship of God in a strange Tongue? but that these are so many Arts to hoodwink the World, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious Clergy. What can we think of Superstition and Idolatry of Images, and all the other pomp of the Roman Worship? but that by these things the people were to be kept up in a gross notion of Religion, as a splendid business, and that the Priests have a trick of saving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that matter wholly in their hands. And to sum up all, What can we think of that Constellation of Prodigies in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpose? but that it is an Art to bring the World by whole sale to renounce their Reason and Sense, and to have a most wonderful Veneration for a sort of Men who can with a Word perform the most astonishing thing that ever was.

I

## The Preface.

I should grow too large for a Preface, if I would pursue this Argument as far as it will go. But if on the other hand we reflect on the true ends of this holy Religion, we must needs be convinced that we need go no where else out of this Church to find them; and that we are completely instructed in all parts of it, and furnished with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the End of our Faith, the Salvation of our Souls. Here we have the Rule of holy Obedience, and the Methods of Repentance and Reconciliation for past sins clearly set before us. We believe all that Doctrine which Christ and his Apostles delivered, and the Primitive Church received: We have the comfort of all those Sacraments which Christ instituted, and in the same manner that he appointed them: All the helps to Devotion that the Gospel offers are in every ones hand. So what can it be that should so extravagantly seduce any who have been bred up in a Church so well constituted? unless a blind Superstition in their temper, or a desire to get Heaven in some easier Method than Christ has appointed, do strangely impose on their Understandings, or corrupt their minds. Indeed the thing is so unaccountable, that it looks like a Curse from Heaven on those who are given up to it, for their other sins; for an ordinary Measure of Infatuation cannot carry any one so far in Folly. And it may be laid down for a certain Maxim, that such as leave us, have never had a true and well formed Notion of Religion, or of Christianity in its main and chief Design; but take things in  
parcels,



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parcels; and without examining them suffer themselves to be carried away by some prejudices which only darken weaker Judgments.

But if it is an high and unaccountable Folly for any to forsake our Communion, and go over to those of Rome, it is at the same time an unexcusable weakness in others who seem full of zeal against Popery, and yet upon some inconsiderable Objections do depart from the Unity of the Body, and form separated Assemblies and Communions; though they cannot object any thing material either to our Doctrine or Worship: But the most astonishing part of the wonder is, that in such differences there should be so little mutual forbearance or gentleness to be found: and that they should raise such heats as if the substance of Religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a stroke from Heaven on both sides, for their other sins: We of the Church Communion have trusted too much to the supports we receive from the Law, we have done our Duties too slightly, and have minded the Care of Souls too little; therefore God to punish and awaken us has suffered so many of our people to be wrested out of our hands: and those of the Separation have been too forward to Blood and War, and thereby have drawn much guilt on themselves, and have been too compliant with the Leaders of their several Factions, or rather apt to out-run them. It is plain, God is offended with us all, and therefore we are punished with this fatal blindness, not to see at this time the things that belong to our peace. And



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And this leads me to Reflections of another sort, with which I shall conclude this Preface.

It is apparent the Wrath of God hangs over our Heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The Symptoms of our ill Condition are as sad as they are visible: and one of the worst is, that each sort and Party is very ready to throw the guilt of it off themselves, and cast it on others, with whom they are displeased: But no Man says, What have I done? The Clergy accuse the Laity, and the Country complains of the City: every one finds out somewhat wherein he thinks he is least concerned, and is willing to fix on that all the Indignation of Heaven, which, God knows, we our selves have kindled against our selves. It cannot be denied, since it is so visible, that universally the whole Nation is corrupted, and that the Gospel has not had those effects among us which might have been expected, after so long and so free a course as it has had in this Island. Our wise and worthy Progenitors reformed our Doctrine and Worship; but we have not reformed our Lives and Manners: what will it avail us to understand the right Methods of worshiping God, if we are without true Devotion, and coldly perform publick Offices, without sense and affection, which is as bad as a Bead-roll of Prayers in whatsoever Language they are pronounced. What signifies our having the Sacraments purely administred among us, if we either contemptuously neglect them

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them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with Law, than out of a sense of the Holy Duties incumbent on us? for what end are the Scriptures put in our hands, if we do not read them with great Attention, and order our lives according to them? and what does all preaching signify, if Men go to Church meerly for Form, and hear Sermons only as set Discourses, which they will censure or commend as they think they see cause, but are resolved never to be the better for them? If to all these sad Considerations we add the gross Sensuality and Impurity, that is so avowedly practised that it is become a fashion, so far it is from being a reproach; the Oppression, Injustice, Intemperance, and many other Immoralities among us, what can be expected, but that these Abominations receiving the highest Aggravation they are capable of, from the clear Light of the Gospel which we have so long enjoyed, the just Judgments of Heaven, should fall on us so signally, as to make us a reproach to all our Neighbours. But as if all this were not enough, to fill up the measure of our Iniquities, many have arriv'd at a new pitch of Impiety, by defying Heaven it self, with their avowed Blasphemies and Atheism: and if they are driven out of their Atheistical Tenets, which are indeed the most ridiculous of any in the World, they set up their rest on some general Notions of Morality and Natural Religion, and do boldly reject all that is revealed: and where they dare vent it, (alas! where dare they not do it?) they reject Christianity and the Scriptures, with open  
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nd impudent scorn, and are absolutely insensible of any Obligation of Conscience in any thing whatsoever: and even in that Morality, which they for Decencies sake magnify so much, none are more bare-facedly and grossly faulty. This is a direct Attempt against God himself, and can we think that he will not visit for such things, nor be avenged on such a Nation? And yet the Hypocrisy of those who disguise their flagitious Lives, with a Mask of Religion, is perhaps a Degree above all, though not so scandalous till the Mask falls off, and that they appear to be what they truly are. When we are all so guilty, and when we are so alarmed by the black Clouds that threaten such terrible and lasting Storms, what may be expected but that we should be generally struck with a deep sense of our crying Sins, and turn to God with our whole Souls? But if after all the loud Awakenings from Heaven we will not hearken to that Voice, but will still go on in our Sins, we may justly look for unheard of Calamities, and such Miseries as shall be proportioned to our Offences; and then we are sure they will be great and wonderful.

Yet if on the other hand there were a general turning to God, or at least if so many were rightly sensible of this, as, according to the Proportion that the Mercies of God allow, did some way ballance the Wickedness of the rest, and if these were as zealous in the true Methods of exploring God's Favour, as others are in procuring his Displeasure; and were not only mourning for their own Sins, but for the Sins of others; the  
Prayers

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Prayers and Sighs of many such, might dissipate that dismal Cloud which our sins have gathered; and we might yet hope to see the Gospel take root among us: since that God who is the Author of it is merciful, and full of Compassion, and ready to forgive; and this holy Religion which by his Grace is planted among us, is still so dear to him, that if we by our own unworthiness do not render our selves incapable of so great a Blessing, we may reasonably hope that he will continue that which at first was by so many happy concurring Providences brought in, and was by a continued Series of the same indulgent care advanc'd by Degrees, and at last raised to that pitch of perfection which few things attain in this World.

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A N  
ABRIDGMENT  
OF THE  
History of the Reformation  
OF THE  
Church of ENGLAND.

---

LIB. I.

*Of the Beginnings of it, and the Pro-  
gress made in it, by King Henry  
the Eighth.*

**T**He Wars of the two Houses of *The Uni-  
York and Lancaster, had produced on of the  
such dismal Revolutions, and cast two Houses  
England into such frequent and of York &  
terrible Convulsions, that the Nation, with Lancast. in  
B great H.VIII.*

Book I. great joy received *Henry* the Seventh; who being himself descended from the House of *Lancaster*, by his marriage with the Heir of the House of *York*, did deliver them from the fear of any more Wars by new Pretenders. But the covetousness of his Temper, the severity of his Ministers, his ill conduct in the Matter of *Britaign*, and his jealousy of the House of *York*, not only gave occasion to Impostors to disturb his Reign, but to several Insurrections that were raised in his time: By all which he was become so generally odious to his People, that as his Son might have raised a dangerous competition for the Crown during his Life, as devolved on him by his Mother's death, who was indeed the Righteous Heir; so his death was little lamented.

April 22

1509.

*He disgraces Empson and Dudley.*

And *Henry* the Eighth succeeded, with all the Advantages he could have desired; and his disgracing *Empson* and *Dudley*, that had been the cruel Ministers of his Fathers Designs for filling his Coffers, his appointing Restitution to be made of the Sums that had been unjustly exacted of the People, and his ordering Justice to be done on those rapacious Ministers, gave all People hopes of happy Times, under a Reign that was begun with such an Act of Justice, that had indeed more Mercy in it, than those Acts of Oblivion and Pardon, with which others did usually begin. And when Ministers, by the King's Orders, were condemned and executed for invading the Liberties of the People under the Covert

of



of the King's Prerogative; it made the Nation conclude, that they should hereafter live secure, under the Protection of such a Prince, and that the violent Remedies of Parliamentary Judgments should be no more necessary, except as in this case, to confirm what had been done before in the ordinary Courts of Justice.

The King also either from the Magnificence of his own Temper, or the Observation he had made of the ill Effects of his Father's Parsimony, did distribute his Rewards and Largesses with an unmeasured Bounty; so that he quickly emptied his Treasure, which his Father had left the fullest in Christendom: But till the ill Effects of this appeared, it raised in his Court and Subjects the greatest Hopes possible of a Prince, whose first Actions shewed an equal mixture of Justice and Generosity.

At his first coming to the Crown, the Successes of *Lewis* the Twelfth, in *Italy*, made him engage as a Party in the Wars with the Crown of *Spain*; He went in Person beyond Sea, and took both *Terwin* and *Tournay*; in which, as he acquired the Reputation of a good and fortunate Captain; so *Maximilian* the Emperor, put an unusual Complement on him, for he took his pay, and rid in his Troops. But a Peace quickly followed; upon which, the *French* King married his Younger Sister *Mary*, but he dying soon after, *Francis* the first succeeded: and he renewing his Pretensions upon *Italy*,

He is very liberal,

1800000

His Success in the Wars.

1513.

1514.

Book I. *Henry* could not be prevailed on to ingage early in the War, till the Successes of either Party should discover which of the sides was the weaker, and needed his Assistance most.

But tho hitherto, *Spain* was an unequal Match to *France*, yet all *Spain* being now united (except *Portugal*) and strengthened by the Accession of the Dominions of *Burgundy*, and enriched by the discovery of the *Indies*; and all this falling into the hands of so great a Prince as *Charles*, afterwards the fifth Emperor of that Name; the ballance between these Kingdoms grew as equal, as the Qualities of the Princes themselves were, which ingaged them in a Rivalry that made their Minds as divided, as their Interests were opposite. *Charles* being preferred to *Francis* in the Competition for the Empire, that kindled the Animosity higher, and seemed to encrease *Charles's* Party, tho the extent and distance of his Dominion was such, that one Soul (tho his was one of the largest and most active in the World) could not animate so vast a Body. Both these Princes saw how considerable an Ally or Enemy *England* might prove, under a King so much esteemed and beloved; so they spared no Arts that might engage him into their Interests; they gained his Ministers by their Presents, and himself by their Complements, for it was soon found out, that Vanity was his weak side. The Emperour came in Person to *England*, without the distrustful Precaution

He is  
courted  
both by  
*France*  
and *Spain*.

1520,  
May.

of

of a Passport, and did so prevail with him, and his great Favourite Cardinal *Wolsey*, by the promise of the Popedom, that tho an Interview followed between *Francis* and him, yet he found the Scale of *France* was then the heavier, so that upon the War, which followed between those Princes, he joyned with the Emperour.

June.

*Charles*, to assure himself of Cardinal *Wolsey*, gave him hopes of the Popedom; which perhaps he did the more easily, because Pope *Leo* being so young a Man, there was no great appearance of a Vacancy: but the Pope dying sooner than perhaps was expected, *Adrian*, that had been the Emperour's Tutor, was then chosen, and Cardinal *Wolsey* had the promise of succeeding him: But a second Vacancy following within two Years, the Emperour broke his word the second time; upon which, the Cardnial was so offended, that he resolved to take his Revenge, so soon as a favourable Conjunction should offer it self; and tho he had laid the best Train he could at *Rome* for the Chair; yet upon *Clement* the seventh's Advancement, he dissembled the matter so with him, as to protest, that he was the very person whom he had wished to see raised to that Dignity.

1521,  
Decemb.

The Battel of *Pavia*, in which *Francis* was taken Prisoner, and his Army defeated, turned the Scale mightily; the Pope was nearest the danger, and felt it soonest; for he projected the Clementine League, by which both He and the Republick of *Venice*,

*Francis*  
the first, is  
taken Pri-  
soner,

**Book I.** and the Princes of *Italy*, engaged in the Interests of *France*; and the King of *England* was declared the Protector of it. Both publick and private Interests wrought on the King; and his own Resentments, as well as the Cardinals animated him to it: for the Emperour was so lifted up with his Success, that he began to form the Project of an Universal Empire, andtho he had come to *England* in Person a second time, and had contracted a Marriage with the King's Daughter, yet he preferred a Match with the *Infanta* of *Portugal* to it, judging it to be of more Importance to him to keep all quiet in *Spain*. *Francis* was now at liberty, but had given his Sons as Hostages, so he was slow in his Proceedings, tho he was the Person most concerned in the League. The Emperour was highly displeased with the Pope, whom he look'd on as his own Creature, but it was always observed, that of what Faction soever a Cardinal might be, yet upon the Advancement, he became the Head of his own.

Septemb.

1527.

The *Colonesi* entred *Rome* with three thousand Men, and sack'd it, the Pope retiring to the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, and submitting to the Conditions that were offered; but their Troops being drawn out of *Rome*, the Pope gathered his together, and fell on their Lands, and by a Creation of fourteen Cardinals for Money (which perhaps may be excused from Simony, because they took no care of Souls.) he was enabled to prosecute the War; but the

\*

Duke



Duke of *Bourbon*, that upon a Discontent given him in *France*, had gone over to the Emperour's Service, came to *Rome*, and took it by storm, himself being killed in the Assault, the Pope and seventeen Cardinals, shut themselves in the Castle St. *Angelo*, but he was forced to render, and was kept Prisoner some Months.

May,  
And afterwards the  
Pope.

This gave great Scandal to all *Europe*; the Emperour himself seem'd ashamed of it, for he would suffer no rejoycing to be in *Spain* for his Sons Birth, but appointed publick Processions for the Pope's Liberty. *Wolfey* had now the best opportunity he could wish, to declare his Zeal for the Pope's Service, and his Aversion to the Emperour; so he went to *France*, and made a new League, for setting the Pope at liberty. The Emperour prevented the Conjunction he saw like to follow, and having brought the Pope to his own Terms, he restored him again to his Freedom. And thus both the Pope and the King of *France*, that by very unusufal Accidents had been taken Prisoners, acknowledged that their Liberty was chiefly due to the Indeavours that King *Henry* had used for procuring it.

When he was thus firmly united to the Interests of *France*, he had less to fear from *Scotland*, which being a perpetual Ally to *France*, gave him no Disturbance, but as it was drawn into the War by that Court: That Kingdom was also for many Years under a King not of Age, and so was much distracted by Faction, and those Broils

*Scotland*  
in disorder

**Book I.** at home, being the surest way to keep them from making Inroads into *England*, were kept up by the Money which the King sent the *Malecontents*; therefore both the Courts of *France* and *England*, by the Pensions they gave, kept the several Parties there in pay, which Advantage that Kingdom lost when it was joyned to *England*. As for Domestick Affairs in the Government of *England*, the King left Matters much in the hands of his Council, in which there were two different Parties, headed by the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Lord Treasurer that was Duke of *Norfolk*: The former much complained of the Consumption of the Treasure; the other justified himself, that he only obeyed the King's Orders. But the Treasurer's Party, under a bountiful King, must always be strongest, both in the Court and Council. In the first Parliament, the Justice done upon *Empson* and *Dudly*, gave so great Satisfaction, that all things went as the Court desired. In the second Parliament, a Brief that Pope *Julius* writ, complaining of *Lewis* the twelfth, was first read in the House of Lords, and then carried down by the L. Chancellor, and some other Lords to the House of Commons, and read there, upon which, Money was granted for a War with *France*. At this time, *Fox*, to support his Party against the Lord Treasurer, endeavoured to bring *Thomas Wolsey* into favour; he was of mean Extraction, but had great Parts, and a wonderful Dexterity in insinuating himself into Men's Favours; so he

Factions  
in the  
Council,

Car. Wol-  
sey's Rise.

he being brought into Business, did so manage the King, that he became very quickly the Master of his Spirit, and of all his Affairs; and for fifteen Years continued to be the most absolute Favourite that had ever been seen in *England*. He saw the King was much set on his Pleasures, and had a great Aversion to business; and the other Counsellours being unwilling to bear the load of Affairs, were uneasy to him, by pressing him to govern by his own Counsels; but he knew the methods of Favourites better, and so was not only easy, but assistant to the King in his Pleasures, and undertook to free him from the Trouble of Government, and to give him leisure to follow his Appetites.

He was Master of all the Offices at home, and Treaties abroad; so that all Affairs went as he directed them. He it seems became soon obnoxious to Parliaments, and therefore he tried but one during his Ministry, where the Supply was granted so scantily, that afterwards he chused rather to raise Money by Loans and Benevolences, than by the free gift of the People in Parliament. He became so scandalous for his ill Life, that he grew to be a Disgrace to his Profession; for he not only served the King, but also shared with him in his Pleasures, which were unhappy to him, for he was spoiled with Venereal Distempers. He was first made Bishop of *Tournay* in *Flanders*, then of *Lincoln*, after that he was promoted to the See of *York*, and had both the Abby of

And  
Greatness,

**Book I.** of *St. Albans*, and the Bishoprick of *Bath and Wells in Commendam*; the last he afterwards exchanged for *Duresm*, and upon *Foxes* death, he quitted *Duresm*, that he might take *Winchester*; and besides all this, the King by a special Grant, gave him power to dispose of all the Ecclesiastical Preferments in *England*, so that in effect he was the Pope of this other World, as was said antiently of an Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and no doubt but he copied skilfully enough after those Patterns that were set him at *Rome*. Being made a Cardinal, and setting up a Legatine Court, he found it fit for his Ambition to have the Great Seal likewise, that there might be no clashing between those two Jurisdictions. He had in one word all the Qualities necessary for a Great Minister, and all the Vices ordinary in a Great Favourite.

*Charles  
Brandon's  
Advancement.*

During this whole Raign, the Duke's of *Norfolk* Father and Son, were Treasurers, but that long and strange course of Favour in so ticklish a Time, turn'd fatally upon the Son, near the end of the King's Life. But he that was the longest and greatest sharer in the King's Favour, was *Charles Brandon*, who from the degree of a private Gentleman was advanced to the highest Honors. The strength of his Body, and the gracefulness of his Person, contributed more to his Rise, than his Dexterity in Affairs, or the Endowments of his Mind, for the greatest Evidence he gave of his Understanding, was, that knowing he was not made for Business, he did not pretend



tend to it; a Temper seldom observed by the Creatures of Favour. The frame and strength of his Body made him a great Master in the Diversions of that Age, Jufts and Tiltings, and a fit Match for the King, or rather a Second to him, who delighted mightily in them. His Person was so acceptable to the Ladies, that the King's Sister, the Queen Dowager of *France* liked him, and by a strange sort of making Love, prefixed him a time for gaining her Consent to marry him; and assured him, if that he did not prevail within that time, he might for ever despair. She married him in *France*, and the King after a shew of some Displeasure, was pacified and continued his Favours to him, not only during his Sister's Life, but to the last, and in all the Revolutions of the Court that followed, in which every Minister fell by turns, he still enjoyed his share in the King's Bounty and Affection; so much happier it proved to be loved, than trusted by him.

The King denied himself none of those Pleasures, that are as much legitimated in Courts, as they are condemned elsewhere; but yet he declared no Mistress, but *Elizabeth Blunt*, and owned no Issue, but a Son he had by her, whom he afterwards made Duke of *Richmond*. He took great care never to imbroil himself with his Parliaments, and he met with no Opposition in any, except in that one, which was during Cardinal *Woolsey's* Ministry; in which 800000 *l.* being demanded for a War with *France*, to be paid in four Years, the debate about it rose very high

The King's  
usage of  
his Parlia-  
ments.

**Book I.** high, and not above the half of it was offered; so the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, and desired to hear the Reasons of those who were against the Supply, but he was told that it was against their Orders to speak to a Debate before any that was not of the House: he was much dissatisfied at this, and cast the blame of it upon Sir *Thomas Moor* that was Speaker, and after that he found out other means of supplying the King without Parliaments.

The King's  
Education.

The King had been educated with more than ordinary Care: and Learning being then in its dawning, after a night of long and gross Ignorance, his Father had given Orders that both his elder Brother and he should be well instructed in matters of Knowledge; not with any design to make him Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, for he had made small progress, when his Brother Prince *Arthur* died, being then but eleven Years old: perhaps *Henry* the seventh felt the Prejudices of his own Education so much, that he was more careful to have his Son better taught; or may be he did it to amuze him, and keep him from looking too early into matters of State. The Learning then most in credit among the Clergy, was the Scholastical Divinity, which by a shew of Subtilty, did recommend it self to curious Persons; and being very sutable to a vain and contentious Temper, was that which agreed best with his Disposition; and it being likely to draw the most Flattery from Divines, became the chief Subject of his

his Studies, in which he grew not only to be Eminent for a Prince, whose Knowledge tho ever so moderate, will be admired by Flatterers as a Prodigy, but he might really have past for a Learned Man had his Quality been ever so mean. He delighted in the purity of the Latin Tongue, and understood Philosophy, and was so great a Master in Musick, that he composed well. He was a bountiful Patron to all Learned Men, more particularly to *Erasmus* and *Polidore Virgil*, and delighted much in those Returns which hungry Scholars use to make to liberal Princes; for he loved Flattery out of measure, and particularly to be extolled for his Learning and great Understanding: and he had enough of it to have surfeited a Man of any Modesty; for all the World, both at home and abroad, contended who should exceed most indecently in setting out his Praises. The Clergy carried it; for as he had merited most at their hands, both by his espousing the Interests of the Papacy, and by his entering the Lifts with *Luther*: so those that hoped to be advanced by those Arts, were as little ashamed in magnifying him out of measure, as he was in receiving their gross Commendations.

His Learning and Vanity.

The manner of promotion to Bishopricks and Abbies was then the same, that had taken place ever since the Investitures by the Ring and Staff were taken out of the hands of Princes. Upon a Vacancy the King seized on all the Temporalities, and granted a Licence for an Election, with a special Recommendation of the man-  
 The manner of the promotion of Bishops.

**Book I.** commendation of the Person; which being returned, the Royal Assent was given, and it was sent to *Rome* that Bulls might be expedited, and then the Bishop Elect was consecrated: after that he came to the King and renounced every Clause in his Bulls that was contrary to the King's Prerogative, or to the Law, and swore Fealty; and then were the Temporalities restored. Nor could Bulls be sued out at *Rome* without a Licence under the Great Seal; so that the Kings of *Engl.* had reserved the power to themselves; of promoting Ecclesiastical Benefices notwithstanding all the Invasions the Popes had made on the Temporal power of Princes.

A Contest concerning the Ecclesiastical Immunity.

The Immunity of Church-men for crimes committed by them, till they were first degraded by the Spirituality, occasioned the only Contest that was in the beginning of this Reign between the Secular and Ecclesiastical Courts: King *Henry* the Seventh past a Law, that Clerks convict should be burnt in the hand. A temporary Law was also made in the beginning of this Reign, That Murderers and Robbers, not being Bishops, Priests, nor Deacons, should be denied the benefit of Clergy: but this was to last only till the next Parliament, and so being not continued by it, the Act determined. The Abbot of *Winchelcomb* preached severely against it, as being contrary to the Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Holy Church, and said, that all who assented to it had fallen under the Censures of the Church. And afterwards he published a Book; to prove

1515.



prove that all Clerks, even of the lower Orders, were Sacred, and could not be judged by the Temporal Courts. This being done in Parliament-time, the Temporal Lords, with the Commons, addressed to the King, desiring him to repress the Insolence of the Clergy. So a publick Hearing was appointed before the King, and all the Judges: Dr. *Standish*, a Franciscan, argued against the Immunity, and proved that the judging Clerks had been in all times practised in *England*; and that it was necessary for the peace and safety of Mankind, that all Criminals should be punished. The Abbot argued on the other side, and said, it was contrary to a Decree of the Church, and was a Sin in it self. *Standish* answered, That all Decrees were not observed: for notwithstanding the Decrees for Residence, Bishops did not reside at their Cathedrals. And since no Decree did bind till it was received, this concerning Immunity, which was never received in *England*, did not bind. After they had fully argued the matter, the Laity were all of opinion that the Fryar was too hard for the Abbot, and so moved the King that the Bishops might be ordered to make him preach a Recantation Sermon. But they refused to do it, and said they were bound by their Oaths to maintain his Opinion. *Standish* was upon this, much hated by the Clergy, but the matter was let fall, yet the Clergy carried the point, for the Law was not continued.

Not long after this, an Accident fell out that

Book I. that drew great Consequences after it. One *Richard Hun*, a Merchant in *London*, was sued by his Parish-Priest for a Mortuary in the Legates Court, so he was advised to sue the Priest in the temporal Court for a Premunire for bringing the King's Subjects before a forraign and illegal Court. This incensed the Clergy so much that they contrived his Destruction: So hearing that he had *Wickliff's Bible*, he was upon that put in the Bishop's Prison for Heresy, but being examined upon sundry Articles, he confessed some things, and submitted himself to Mercy, upon which they ought according to Law, to have injoynd him Penance, and discharged him, this being his first Crime; but he could not be prevailed on by the terror of this to let his Suit fall in the Temporal Court; so one Night his Neck was broken with an Iron Chain, and he was wounded in other Parts of his Body, and then knit up in his own Girdle, and it was given out that he had hanged himself; but the Coroners Inquest by examining the Body, and by several other Evidences, and particularly by the confession of the Sumner; gave their Verdict, that he was murdered by the Bishop's Chancellor Dr. *Horsley*, and the Sumner, and the Bel-ringer. The Spiritual Court proceeded against the dead Body, and charged *Hun* with all the Heresy in *Wickliff's Preface* to the Bible, because that was found in his Possession; so he was condemned as an Heretick, and upon that his Body was burnt. The Bishops

*Hun* imprisoned for Heresy.

Murdered.

And condemned, his Body burnt.

Bishops of *Duresm* and *Lincoln*, and many Doctors sitting with the Bishop of *London* when he gave Judgment ; so that it was looked upon as an Act of the whole Clergy : but this produced very ill Effects ; for the Clergy lost the Affections of the City to such a degree, that they could never recover them ; nor did any one thing dispose them more than this did, to the entertaining the new Preachers, and to every thing that tended to the reproach of the Church-men, whom they esteemed no more their Pastors, but accounted them barbarous Murderers. The Rage went so high, that the Bishop of *London* complained, that he was not safe in his own House, and there were many hearings before the Council ; for the Cardinal did all he could to stop the progress of the Matter, but in vain : for the Bishop's Chancellor and the Sumner were indicted as Principals in the Murder. In Parliament an Act passed restoring *Hun's* Children ; but the Commons sent up a Bill concerning his Murder ; yet that was laid aside by the Lords, where the Clergy were the Majority. The Clergy look'd on the Opposition that *Stan-*  
*disb* had made in the point of their Immunities, as that which gave the rise to *Hun's* first Suit ; so the Convocation cited him to answer for his Carriage in that Matter ; but he claimed the King's Protection, since he had done nothing, but only pleaded in the King's Name. The Clergy pretended they did not prosecute him for his pleading, but for some of his Divinity Lectures, contrary

Further  
 Disputes  
 about Im-  
 munity.

Book I. trary to the Liberty of the Church, which the King was bound to maintain by his Coronation-Oath : but the Temporal Lords, the Judges, and the Commons prayed the King also to maintain the Laws according to his Coronation-Oath, and to give *Standish* his Protection. The King upon this being in great perplexity, required *Veyfy*, afterwards Bilhop of *Exeter*, to declare upon his Conscience and Allegiance the truth in that matter. His Opinion was against the Immunity ; so another publick Hearing being appointed, *Standish* was accused for teaching, *That the Inferiour Orders were not sacred; That their Exemption was not founded on a Divine Right, but that the Laity might punish them; That the Canons of the Church did not bind till they were received ; and that the study of the Canon Law was useles.* Of these he denied some, and justified other particulars. *Veyfy* being required to give his Opinion, alledged, That the Laws of the Church did only oblige where they were received : As the Law of the Celibate of the Clergy, received in the West, did not bind the Greek Churches, that never received it : So the exemption of the Clerks not being received, did not bind in *England*. The Judges gave their Opinion next, which was, That those who prosecuted *Standish* were all in a *Premunire*. So the Court broke up. But in another Hearing, in the presence of the greatest part of both Houses of Parliament, the Cardinal said in the name of the Clergy, That tho they intended to do nothing against the

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King's



King's Prerogative; yet the trying of Clerks Book I:  
seemed to be contrary to the Liberty of the Church, which they were bound by their Oaths to maintain. So they prayed that the matter might be referred to the Pope.

The King answered that he thought *Standish* had answered them fully: The Bishop of *Winchester* said; he would not stand to his Opinion at his Peril. *Standish* upon that said, What can one poor Friar do against all the Clergy of *England*? The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* said; Some of the Fathers of the Church had suffered Martyrdom upon that account; but the Chief-Justice replied; That many holy Kings had maintained that Law; and many holy Bishops had obeyed it. In conclusion the King declared, that he would maintain his Rights, and would not submit them to the Decrees of the Church, otherwise than as his Ancestors had done. *Warham* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* desired so long time might be given, that they might have an Answer returned from *Rome*; but that was not granted: yet a Temper was found. *Horsley* was appointed to be brought to his Trial for *Hun's* Murder, and upon his pleading not guilty, no Evidence was to be brought, and so he was to be discharged. But upon this it was said, The Judges were more concerned to maintain their Jurisdiction, than to do Justice upon so horrid a Murder; so the discontent given by it was raised so much higher, and the Crime of a few Murderers, was now transferred upon the whole Clergy, who had concerned

Book I. themselves so much in their Preservation; and this did very much dispose the Laity to all that was done afterwards, for pulling down the Ecclesiastical Tyranny.

The King  
is much  
addicted  
to the Pa-  
pacy.

This was the only uneasy stop in this King's Raigh, till the suit for his Divorce was commenced. In all other points he was constantly in the Pope's Interests, who sent him the common Complements of Roses, and such other Trifles, by which that See had treated Princes so long as Children. The King made the Defence of the Popedom an Article in his Leagues with other Princes, and Pope *Julius* having called a General Council to the *Lateran*, in opposition to that which by *Lewis* the Twelfth's means was held at *Pisa*; The King sent the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Rocheſter*, the Prior of *St. John's*, and the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* to represent the Church of *England*, thereby to give the greater Authority to a pack'd meeting of *Italian* Bishops and Abbots, who assumed to themselves the Title of a *Holy and Oecumenical Council*. But no Complement wrought so much on the King's Vanity, as the Title of *Defender of Faith*, sent him by Pope *Leo* upon the Book, which he writ against *Luther* concerning the Sacraments.

Cardinal  
*Wolsey*  
intends to  
reform the  
Clergy.

The Cardinal drew upon himself the hatred of the Clergy, by a Bull which empowered him to visit all the Monasteries of *England*; and to dispence with all the Laws of the Church for a Year. He also gave out, that he intended to reform the Clergy, though he forgot that which ought

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to

to be the first step of all who pretend to reform others; for none could be worse than himself was. He lived in great Luxury, and in an insolent Affectation of the highest State possible; many of his Domesticks being men of the first Rank. He intended to suppress many Monasteries, and thought the best way for doing it with the least Scandal, was first, to visit them, and so to expose their Corruptions: But he was afterwards diverted from this; yet the design which he laid, being communicated to *Cromwel*, that was then his Secretary, it was put in Practice toward the end of this Reign, when the Monasteries were all suppressed.

The Convocations were of two sorts; some were summoned by the King, when Parliaments were called, as is in use to this Day; only the King did not then prefix a Day, but left that to the Arch-bishops. Others were called by the Archbishops, and were Provincial Synods, of which there were but few. The Cardinal pretended that the summoning all Convocations belonged to him, as *Legate*; so that when *Warham* had called one, he dissolved it after it was met, and summoned it of new. In that Convocation, a great Supply was granted to the King, of half a Years Rent of all Benefices payable in five Years, for assisting him in his Wars with *France* and *Scotland*. This was much opposed by the Cardinal's Enemies, but it was agreed to at last, a *Proviso* being made, that such a heavy tax should

*The sum-  
moning of  
Convoca-  
tions.*

1522.

**Book I.** never be made a Precedent for the future; tho the Grant they made was more likely to become a Precedent, than this *Proviso* to be a Security for the time to come.

This encreased the Aversion the Clergy had for the Cardinal: the Monks were more particularly incensed; for they saw he was resolved to suppress their Foundations, and convert them to other uses.

The State  
of the Mo-  
nasteries.

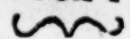
In the days of King *Edgar*, most of the Cathedrals of *England* were possessed by Secular Priests, who were generally married; but *Dunstun* and some other Monks took advantage from the Vices of that Prince, to perswade him to make Compensation for them; and as he made Laws, in which he declared what Compensations were to be made for Sins, both by the Rich and Poor; so, it seems, he thought the founding of Monasteries was the fittest Compensation for a King; and he turned out all the married Priests, and put Monks in their stead. From that time the Credit and Wealth of Monastick Orders continued to encrease for several Ages, till the Begging Orders succeeded in the esteem of the World, to the place which the Monks formerly had; for they decreased as much in true worth, as the false appearances of it had now raised their Revenues. They were not only ignorant themselves, but very jealous of the progress Learning was making: for *Erasmus*, and the other Restorers of it, treating them with much scorn, they look'd on the encrease of it, as that which would much lessen them, and so not only did not

con-



contribute to it, but rather detracted from it, as that which would make way for Heresy.

Book I



The Cardinal designed two noble Foundations, the one at *Oxford*, and the other at *Ipswich*, the place of his Birth, both for the encouragement of the Learned, and the instruction of Youth; and for that end he procured a Bull for suppressing divers Monasteries, which being executed, their Lands by Law fell to the King; and thereupon the Cardinal took out Grants of them, and endowed his Colledges with them.

Cardinal  
Wolsey sup-  
presses  
many.

But we shall next consider the state of Religion in *England*. From the dayes of *Wickliff* there were many that differed from the Doctrines commonly received. He writ many Books that gave great Offence to the Clergy, yet being powerfully supported by the Duke of *Lancaster*, they could not have their revenge during his Life; but he was after his Death condemned, and his Body was raised and burnt. The Bible which he translated into *English*, with the Preface which he set before it, produced the greatest Effects. In it he reflected on the ill Lives of the Clergy, and condemned the Worship of Saints and Images, and the corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; but the most criminal part was, the exhorting all People to read the Scriptures; where the Testimonies against those Corruptions were such, that there was no way to deal with them but to silence them. His Followers were not Men of Letters, but being

The  
growth of  
*Wickliff's*  
Doctrine.

Book I. wrought on by the easy Conviction of plain Sense, were by them determined in their Persuasions. They did not form themselves into Body, but were contented to hold their Opinions secretly, and did not spread them, but to their particular Confidants. The Clergy fought them out every where, and did deliver them after Conviction to the Secular Arm, that is, to the *Fire*.

The Cru-  
elty of the  
Clergy.

In the Primitive Church, all cruel Proceedings upon the account of Heresy, were condemned; so that the Bishops who accused some Hereticks, upon which they were put to death, were excommunicated for it. Banishment and Fines, with some Incapacities, were the highest Severities even upon the greatest Provocations. But as the Church grew corrupted in other things, so a cruel Spirit being generally the mark of all ill Priests, of whatsoever Religion they are, they fell under the Influences of it; and from the days of the rise of the *Albigenses*, the severities of the Inquisition, and Burnings, with many other Cruelties, were by the means of the Dominicans set up, first in *France*, and then in the other parts of *Europe*. A Decree was also made in the Council of the *Lateran*, requiring all Magistrates under the pains of forfeiture and deposition, to extirpate Hereticks. Burning agreed best with their Cruelty, as being the most terrible sort of Death, and bearing some resemblance to everlasting Burnings in Hell; so they damned the Souls of the Hereticks, and burnt their Bodies;

but

but the Execution of the former part of the Book I.  
Sentence was not in their power, as the latter part was.

The Canons of that Council being received in *England*, the Proceedings against Hereticks grew to be a part of the Common Law, and a Writ for burning them was issued out upon their Conviction.

But special Statutes were afterwards made:

The first under *Richard* the second, was only agreed to by the Lords; and without its being consented to by the Commons, the King assented to it; yet all the Severity in it was no more, than that Writs should go out to the Sheriffs to hold Hereticks in Prison, till they should be judged by the Laws of the Church. The Preamble of the Law says, 'They were very numerous, that they had a peculiar Habit, that they preached in many Churches, & other Places against the Faith, and refused to submit to the Censures of the Church. This was sent with the other Acts according to the custom of that Time, to all the Sheriffs of *England* to be proclaimed by them; but the Year following in the next Parliament, the Commons complained that that Act was published, to which they had never consented; so an Act passed declaring the former null; yet this was suppressed, and the former was still esteemed a good Law.

Laws  
made in  
*England*  
against  
Hereticks.

When *Henry* the fourth came to the Crown, he owing it in great measure to the help of the Clergy, passed an Act against all that preached without the Bishop's Licence, or against the Faith; and it was enacted,

That

**Book I.** That all Transgressors of that sort, should be imprisoned, and within three Months be brought to a Trial: If upon Conviction they offered to abjure, and were not Relapses, they were to be imprisoned and fined at pleasure; and if they refused to abjure, or were Relapses, they were to be delivered to the secular Arm, and the Magistrates were to burn them in some publick Place. But tho by this Statute no mention is made of sending out a Writ for Execution; yet that continued still, to be practised: And that same Year *Sautre* a Priest being condemned as a Relapse, and degraded by *Arundell*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, a Writ was issued out for it, in which, *Burning* is called the *Common Punishment*, which related to the customs of other Nations: For this was the first Instance of that kind in *England*. In the beginning of *Henry* the fifth's Reign, there was a Conspiracy against the King discovered, (tho others that lived not long after, say it was only pretended and contrived by the Clergy) of *Old-Castle* and some others of *Wickliff*'s Followers then called *Lollards*; upon which many were condemned both for Treason and Heresy, who were first hanged and then burnt; and a Law followed that the *Lollards* should forfeit all that they held in Fee-simple, as well as their Goods and Chattels to the King, and all Sheriffs and Magistrates were required to take an Oath, to destroy all Heresies and *Lollardies*, and to assist the Ordinaries in their



their proceedings against them. Yet the Book I.  
Clergy making ill use of these Laws, and  
vexing all People that gave them any Of-  
fence, with long Imprisonments; the Judges  
interposed and examined the Grounds of  
their Commitments, and as they saw cause,  
Bailed, or Discharged the Prisoners; and  
took upon them to declare, what Opinions  
were Heresies by Law, and what were not.  
Thus the People sought for Shelter, under  
their Protection, and found more Mercy  
at the hands of Common Lawyers, than  
from them who ought to have been the Pa-  
stors of their Souls, and the Publishers  
of the most merciful Religion that ever  
was.

In the beginnings of this Reign, there  
were several Persons brought into the Bi-  
shops Courts for Heresy, before Warham. *The Prose-  
cution of  
Lollards be-  
fore War-  
ham.*  
Forty eight were accused: But of these,  
forty three abjured, twenty seven Men,  
and sixteen Women, most of them being  
of *Tenterden*; and five of them, four Men,  
and one Woman, were condemned; some  
as obstinate Hereticks, and others as Re-  
lapses: and against the common Ties of Na-  
ture, the Woman's Husband, and her  
two Sons, were brought Witnesses against  
her. Upon their Conviction, a Certificate  
was made by the Archbishop to the Chan-  
cery; upon which, since there is no Par-  
don upon Record, the Writs for burning  
them must have gone out in Course, and  
the Execution of them is little to be doubt-  
ed; for the Clergy were seldom guilty of  
much

**Book I.** much Mercy in such Cases, having devested themselves of all Bowels, as the Dregs of unmortified Nature. The Articles objected to them were, That they believed that in the *Eucharist*, there was nothing but material Bread; That the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, Confession, Matrimony, and Extream Unction, were neither necessary, nor profitable; That Priests had no more Power than Laymen; That Pilgrimages were not meritorious, and that the Mony and Labour spent in them, were spent in vain; That Images ought not to be worshipped, and that they were only Stocks and Stones; That Prayers ought not to be made to Saints, but only to God; That there was no vertue in Holy-water, or Holy-bread. Those who abjured, did swear to discover all that held those Errours, or were suspected of them; and they were enjoined to carry a Faggot in Procession, and to wear on their Cloaths the Representation of one in Flames, as a publick Confession that they had deserved to be burnt. There were also four in *London* that abjured almost the same Opinions; and *Fox* says, that six were burnt in *Smithfield*, who might be perhaps those whom *Warham* had condemned; for there is no mention of any that were condemned in the Registers of *London*. By all this it will appear, that many in this Nation, were prepared to receive those Doctrines, which were afterwards preached by the Reformers, even before *Luther* began first to oppose Indulgences. The

The Rise and Progress of his Doctrine **Book I.**  
 are well known; the Scandalous extolling  
 of Indulgences gave the first occasion to all  
 that Contradiction, that followed between  
 him and his followers, and the Church of  
 Rome; in which, if the Corruptions and  
 Cruelties of the Clergy had not been so vi-  
 sible and scandalous, so small a matter  
 could not have produced such a Revoluti-  
 on; but any Crisis will put ill humours in  
 Fermentation.

*The Pro-  
 gress of  
 Luther's  
 Doctrine.*

The Bishops were grossly ignorant; they  
 seldom resided in their Diocesses, except  
 it had been to riot it at high Festivals; and  
 all the Effect their Residence could have,  
 was to corrupt others, by their ill Example.  
 They followed the Courts of Princes, and  
 aspired to the greatest Offices. The Ab-  
 bots and Monks were wholly given up to  
 Luxury and Idleness; and the unmarried  
 State, both of the Seculars, & Regulars, gave  
 infinite Scandal to the World; for it appear-  
 ed, that the restraining them from having  
 Wives of their own, made them conclude  
 that they had a right to all other Mens.  
 The Inferiour Clergy were no better; and  
 not having places of retreat to conceal their  
 vices in, as the Monks had, they became  
 more publick. In sum, all Ranks of Church-  
 men were so universally despised, and ha-  
 ted, that the World was very apt to be  
 possessed with prejudice against their Do-  
 ctrines, for the sake of the Men, whose  
 Interest it was to support them: and the  
 Worship of God was so defiled with much  
 gross

Book I. gross Superstition, that without great enquiries, all Men were easily convinced; that the Church stood in great need of a Reformation. This was much encreased when the Books of the Fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and latter Ages of the Church, did very evidently appear. They found that a blind Superstition came first in the room of true Piety; and when by its means the Wealth and Interest of the Clergy was highly advanced; the Popes had upon that, established their Tyranny; under which, not only the meaner People, but even the crowned Heads, had long groaned. All these things concurred to make way for the Advancement of the Reformation: And so the Books of the *Germans* being brought into *England*, and Translated, many were prevailed on by them. Upon this, a hot Persecution, which is always the Foundation on which a vitious Clergy set up their Rest, was vigorously set on foot; to such a Degree, that six Men and Women were burnt in *Coventry* in Passion-week; only for teaching their Children, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten Commandments in English. Great Numbers were every where brought into the Bishop's Courts; of whom some were burnt, but the greater part abjured.

The King laid hold on this Occasion, to become the Church's Champion, and wrote against *Luther*, as was formerly told. His Book besides the Title of *Defender of the Faith*;



*Faith*, drew upon him all that Flattery Book I. could invent to extol it; yet *Luther* not daunted with such an Antagonist, but rather proud of it, answered it, and treated him as much below the Respect that was due to a King, as his Flatterers had raised him above it. *Tindal's* Translation of the New Testament with some Notes added to it, drew a severe Condemnation from the Clergy, there being nothing in which they were more concerned, then to keep the People unacquainted with that Book. Sir *Thomas More* seconded the King, and employed his Pen in the Service of the Clergy, but mixed too much Gall with his Ink. The Cardinal's Behaviour in this matter was unaccountable; for he not only acted nothing against the new Preachers, but when some Bishops moved for a Visitation of the Universities, upon a report of the spreading of Heresy in them, he stop'd it; yet afterwards he called a Meeting of several Bishops, Abbots and Divines, before whom, two Preachers, *Bilney* and *Arthur*, were brought, and Articles of Heresy being objected to them, and proved by Witnesses, they for a while seemed resolved to seal their Doctrines with their Blood; but what through Fear, what through Perswasion, they were prevailed on (first *Arthur*, and *Bilney* five days after) to abjure; but tho *Bilney* was a Relapse, yet the Cardinal was gentle to him, and *Tonstall* Bishop of *London* enjoyned him Penance, and discharged him. So much may suffice to shew the condition of

Book I. of Affairs in *England* both in Church and State, when the Process of the King's Divorce was first set on foot.

The King's  
Marriage.

1502.

*Henry* the seventh entered into a firm Alliance with *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, and agreed a Match between his Son Prince *Arthur*, and *Katherine* the *Infanta* of *Spain*. She came into *England* & was married in *November*; but on the second of *April* after, the Prince died. They were not only bedded in Ceremony the night of the Marriage, but continued still to lodg together, and the Prince by some indecent Rallery gave Occasion to believe, that the Marriage was consummated, which was so little doubted, that some imputed his too early end to his excess in it. After his Death his younger Brother was not created Prince of *Wales*, till ten Months had past, it being then apparent that the Princess was not with Child by the late Prince; Women were also set about her to wait on her with the Precaution that is necessary in such a Case; so that it was generally believed that she was no Virgin when the Prince died.

*Henry* the seventh being unwilling to restore so great a Portion as two hundred thousand Ducats, proposed a second Match for her with his Younger Son *Henry*. *Warham* did then object against the Lawfulness of it; yet *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, was for it, and the Opinion of the Pope's Authority was then so well established, that it was thought a Dispensation from *Rome* was sufficient to remove all Objections; so

Decemb.  
1503.

one

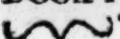
one was obtained, grounded upon a desire of the two young Persons to marry together for preserving Peace between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, by which the Pope dispensed with it notwithstanding the Princess's Marriage to Prince *Arthur*, which was (as is said in the Bull) perhaps consummated. Book I.

The Pope was then in War with *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*, and so would refuse nothing to the King of *England*, being perhaps not unwilling that Princes should contract such Marriages, by which the Legitimation of their Issue depending on the Pope's Dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in Interest to support that Authority: upon this a Marriage followed, the Prince being yet under Age; but the same day in which he came to be of Age, he did by his Father's Orders, make a Protestation that he retracted and annulled his Marriage.

*Henry* the seventh at his Death, charged him to break it off entirely, being perhaps apprehensive of such a return of Confusion upon a controverted Succession to the Crown, as had been during the Wars of the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, but upon his Death, *Henry* the Eighth being then eighteen Years of Age, married her: She bore him two Sons, who died soon after they were born; and a Daughter *Mary*, that lived to reign after him; but after that the Queen contracted some Diseases that made her unacceptable to the King; so all hope of any other Issue failing, seve-

1505.

1516.  
Matches  
proposed  
for his  
Daughter.

Book I  ral Matches were propos'd for his Daughter; the first was with the *Dauphin*; then she was contracted with the Emperor; and after that, a Proposition was made for the King of *Scotland*; and last of all a Treaty was made with *Francis* the first, either for himself, he being then a Widower, or for his second Son the Duke of *Orleans* to be determin'd at his Option; upon which the Bishop of *Tarbe* was sent over Ambassador to conclude it; he made an Exception that the Marriage was doubtful and the Lady not legitimate, which had been likewise made by the Cortes of *Spain*, by whose Advice the Emperor broke the Contract upon that very account, so that other Princes moving Scruples against a Marriage with his Daughter, the Heir of so great a Crown, the King began to make some himself, or rather to publish them, for he said afterwards he had them some Years before.

Yet the Cardinal's hatred to the Emperor, was look'd on as one of the secret Springs of the King's Aversion to his Aunt, which the King vindicating him in publick, afterwards did not remove: that being considered only as a Court Contrivance.

The King  
has some  
scruples  
concerning  
his Marriage.

The King seem'd to lay the greatest Weight on the prohibition in the Levitical Law of marrying the Brother's Wife, and he being conversant in *Thomas Aquinas's* Writings, found that he and the other Schoolmen look'd on those Laws as Moral, and for ever binding, and that by Consequence the Pope's Dispensation was of no

\*

force



force since his Authority went not so far as to dispence with the Laws of God. All the Bishops of *England*, *Fisher of Rochester* only excepted, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they judged the Marriage unlawful. The ill Consequences of Wars that might follow upon a doubtful Title to the Crown; were also much considered, or at least pretended. It is not probable that the engagement of the King's Affections to any other gave the rise to all this; for so prying a Courtier as *Wolsey* was, would have discovered it, and not have projected a Marriage with *Francis's* Sister, if he had seen the King prepossessed: It is more probable that the King conceiving himself upon the point of being discharged of his former Marriage, gave a free scope to his Affections, which upon that came to settle on *Anne Bolleyn*. The King had reason enough to expect a quick and favourable dispatch of his business at *Rome*, where Dispensations or Divorces in Favour of Princes used to pass, rather with regard to the Merits of the Prince that desired them, than of the Cause it self. His Alliance seemed then necessary to the Pope, who was at that time in Captivity. Nor could the Emperor with any good colour oppose his Suit, since he had broken his Contract with his Daughter upon the account of the doubtfulness of the Marriage.

The Cardinal had also given him full Assurances of a good Answer from *Rome*; whether upon the knowledg he had of that

**Book I.** Court, and of the Pope's temper, or upon any promise made him, is not certain. The Reasons gathered by the Canonists for annulling the Bull of Dispensation, upon which the Divorce was to follow in course, were grounded upon some false suggestions in the Bull, and upon the Protestation which the King had made when he came to be of Age. In a word, they were such, that a favourable Pope left to himself, would have yielded to them without any scruple.

*Anne Bolleyn* was born in the year 1507, and went to *France* at seven years of Age, and returned twelve years after to *England*. She was much admired in both Courts, and continued to live without any Blemish till her unfortunate Fall gave occasion to some malicious Writers to defame her in all the Parts of her Life; She was more beautiful than graceful, and more chearful than discreet. She wanted none of the Charms of Wit or Person, and must have had extraordinary Attractives; since she could so long manage such a King's Affection, in which her being with Child soon after the Marriage, shews that in the whole course of seven years she kept him at a due distance. Upon her coming to *England*, the Lord *Piercy* being then a Domestick of the Cardinals, made love to her, and went so far as to engage himself some way to marry her, and that being entertained by her, shews she had then no aspirings to the Crown. But the Cardinal having understood somewhat of the King's secret Intentions, did so threaten

him,

him, that he made him, tho not without **Book I.**  
great difficulty, break off his addressees to her. ~~~~~

*Knight*, then Secretary of State, was sent **1527.**  
to *Rome* to prepare the Pope in the matter; And ap-  
and the Family of the *Cassali* having much of plies to  
the Pope's Favour, they were likewise im- the Pope.  
ployed to promote it. To *Gregory Cassali*,  
did the Cardinal send a large Dispatch, set-  
ting forth all the Reasons both in Consci-  
ence and Policy, for obtaining a Commis-  
sion to himself to judge the Affair. Great  
Promises were made in the King's Name,  
both for publick and private Services, and  
nothing was forgot that was likely to work  
either on the Pope, or those Cardinals that  
had the greatest Credit about him. *Knight*  
made application to the Pope in the secretest  
manner he could, and had a very favourable  
Answer; for the Pope promised frankly to  
dissolve the Marriage: but another Promise  
being exacted of him in the Emperour's  
Name, not to proceed in that Affair, he was  
reduced to great straits, not so much out of  
regard to his Promises, ( for he had so en-  
gaged himself, that it was unavoidable for  
him to break one ) as to his Interests; he  
was then at the Emperour's mercy, so he  
was in fear of offending him, yet he both  
hated him, and was distrustful of him; and  
had no mind to lose the King of *England*,  
therefore he studied to gain time, and pro-  
mised that if the King would have a little  
patience, he should not only have that which  
he asked, but every thing that was in his  
power to grant.

Book 1. The Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* made  
 1528. some Scruples concerning the Bull that was  
 demanded, till he had raised his price, and  
 got a great Present, and then the Pope  
 signed both a Commission for *Wolsey* to try  
 the Cause, and judge in it, and also a Dispens-  
 sation, and put them in *Knights* hands; but  
 with tears prayed him that there might be no  
 proceedings upon them, till the Emperour  
 were put out of a capacity of executing his  
 Revenge upon him, and when ever that was  
 done he would own this act of Justice which  
 he did in the King's favour. For tho the  
 Pope on publick occasions used to talk in the  
 language of one that pretended to be *S. Pe-  
 ter's* Successor; yet in private Treaties he  
 minded nothing but his own Security, and  
 the Interests of his Family. And being a  
 very crafty Man, he proposed an Expedi-  
 ent, which if the King had followed, it had  
 put a quicker and easier end to the Process.  
 He found his sending Bulls, or a Legat to  
*England*, would become publick, and draw  
 the Emperour upon him; and must admit  
 of delays and be full of danger; therefore  
 he proposed, if the King was satisfied in his  
 own Conscience, in which he believed no  
 Doctor could resolve him better than him-  
 self, then he might without more noise  
 make Judgment be given in *England*; and  
 upon that marry another Wife, and send  
 over to *Rome* for a Confirmation; which  
 would be the more easily granted, if the  
 thing were once done. This the Pope desired  
 might be represented to the King as the Ad-  
 vice

Who was  
 very fa-  
 yourable.



vice of the Cardinals, and not as his own. But the King's Counsellors thought this more dangerous than the way of a Process; for if upon the King's second Marriage, a Confirmation should be denied, then the Right Succession by it, would be still very doubtful, so they would not venture on it.

The Pope was at this time distasted with Cardinal *Wolsey*; for he understood, that during his Captivity, he had been in an Intrigue, to get himself chosen Vicar of the Papacy, and was to have sate at *Avignon*, which might have produced a new Schism. *Staphileus*, Dean of the *Rota*, being then in *England*, was wrought on by the promise of a Bishoprick, and a Recommendation to a Cardinals Hat, to promote the King's Affair; and by him the Cardinal wrote to the Pope, in a most earnest strain, for a dispatch of this business; and he desired, that an indifferent and tractable Cardinal might be sent over, with a full Commission to joyn with him, and to judge the matter; proposing to the King's Embassadors, *Campegio* as the fittest Man; when a Legate should be named, he ordered Presents to be made him, and that they would hasten his dispatch, and take care that the Commission should be full. But upon the Arrival of the Couriers, that were sent from *Rome*, *Gardiner*, the Cardinals Secretary, and *Fox*, the Kings Almoner, the one a Canonist, and the other a Divine, were sent thither with Letters, both from the King and Cardinal, to the

Book I. Pope, & they carried orders (that were like to be more effectual than any Arguments they could offer) to make great Presents to the Cardinals. They carried with them the draught of a Bull, containing all the Clauses could be invented, to make the matter sure; one Clause was to declare the Issue of the Marriage good, as being begotten *bona fide*, which was perhaps put in to make the Queen more easy, since by that it appeared, that her Daughter should not suffer, which way soever the matter went.

The Cardinal in his Letters to *Cassali*, offered to take the blame on his own Soul, if the Pope would grant this Bull; and with an Earnestness, as hearty and warm, as can be expressed in Words, he pressed the thing, and added, That he perceived, that if the Pope continued Inexorable, the King would proceed another way.

*Campegio*  
sent over  
Legate.

These Intreaties had such Effects, That *Campegio* was declared Legate, and ordered to go for *England*, and joyn in Commission with *Wolsey*, for judging this matter. *Campegio* was Bishop of *Salisbury*; and having a Son whom he intended to advance, was no doubt a tractable Man; but to raise his price the higher, he moved many Scruples, and seemed to enter upon this Employment, with great fear, and aversion. *Wolsey* who knew his Temper, prest him vehemently, to make all the hast he could, and gave him the Assurance of great Rewards from the King: For whatever was to be made use of publicly for formes  
sak e.

1528.

sake, these were the effectual Arguments that were most likely to convince a Man of his Temper: In which *Wolsey* was so sincere, that in a Letter he wrote to him, that of a good Conscience, being put among other Motives to perswade him, in the first Draught, the Cardinal struck it out, as knowing how little it would signify. *Campegio* set out from *Rome*, and carried with him a Decretal Bull, for annulling the Marriage which was trusted to him, and he was Authorized to shew it to the King and *Wolsey*; but was required not to give it out of his Hands to either of them. At this time, *Wolsey* was taken with the sweating Sickness, which then raged in *England*; and by a Complement which both the King and *Ann Boleyn* writ him, on the same piece of Paper, it appears, he was then privy to the Kings Design of marrying her, and intended to advance himself yet higher, by his merits, in procuring her the Crown.

This Year he settled his two great Colledges; and finding both the King and People much pleased with his converting some Monasteries to such uses, he intended to suppress more, and to convert them to Bishopricks, and Cathedral Churches, which the Pope was not willing to grant, the Religious Orders making great Opposition to it; but *Gardiner* told him, it was necessary, and must be done; so a power for doing it, was added to the Legates Commission.

At

Book I. At this time, the Queen engaged the  
 Emperor to espouse her Interests, which  
 he did, the more willingly, because the  
 King was then in the Interests of *France*;  
 and to help her Business, a Breve was  
 either found, or forged, (the last is more  
 probable) of the same date with the Bull,  
 that dispensed with her Marriage: But  
 with stronger Clauses in it, to answer those  
 Objections that were made against some de-  
 fects in the Bull, though it did not seem pro-  
 bable, that in the same Day, a Bull and a  
 Breve would have been granted for the same  
 thing, in such different strains. The most  
 considerable Variation was, That whereas  
 the Bull did only suppose, that the Queens  
 Marriage with Prince *Arthur*, was *perhaps*  
 Consummated; the Breve did suppose it ab-  
 solutely, without a *perhaps*. This was thought  
 to prejudice the Queen's Cause as much,  
 as the Suspicion of the Forgery did blemish  
 her Agents.

Campegio  
 comes into  
 England.

In *October*, *Campegio* came into *England*;  
 and after the first Complements were over,  
 he first advised the King to give over the  
 Prosecution of his Suit; and then coun-  
 selled the Queen in the Pope's Name, to en-  
 ter into a Religious Life, and make Vows;  
 but both were in vain; and he by affect-  
 ing an Impartiality, almost lost both sides.  
 But he in great measure pacified the King,  
 when he shewed him the Bull he had  
 brought over for annulling the Marriage;  
 yet he would not part with it out of his  
 hands, neither to the King, nor the Car-  
 dinal;



dinal; upon which, great Instances were made at *Rome*, that *Campegio* might be ordered to shew it to some of the King's Counsellors, and to go on and end the business, otherwise *Wolsey* would be ruined, and *England* lost: Yet all this did not prevail on the crafty Pope, who knew it was intended once to have the Bull out of *Campegio's* hands, and then the King would leave him to the Emperour's Indignation: But tho he positively refused to grant that, yet he said, he left the Legates in *England*, free to judge as they saw Cause, and promised that he would confirm their Sentence.

The Imperialists at *Rome* pressed him hard, to inhibit the Legates, and to recall the Cause that it might be heard before the Consistory. The Pope declined this motion; and to mollify the King, he sent *Campana*, one of his Bed-chamber, over to *England*, with Complements too high to gain much Credit: He assured the King, that the Pope would do for him all he could, not only in *Justice*, and *Equiry*, but in the *fulnes of his Power*: And that tho he had reason to be very apprehensive, of the Emperour's Resentments, yet that did not divert him from his Zeal for the King's Service; for if his resigning the Popedom would advance it, it should not stick at that. He also was ordered to require the Legates, to put a speedy end to the business; but his secret Instructions to *Campegio* were of another strain; he charged

Book I.  
1528.

*Campana*  
sent to de-  
ceive the  
King.

Book I. charged him to burn the Bull, and to draw out the matter by all the delayes he could invent. *1528.* Sir *Francis Brian*, and *Peter Vannes*, were dispatched to *Rome*, with new Propositions, to try, whether, if both the King and Queen took Religious Vowes, so that their Marriage were upon that annulled, the Pope would engage to dispen-  
 cence with the King's Vow, or grant him a License for having two Wives. *Walsley* also offered in the King's Name, to settle a Pay for 2000 Men, that should be a Guard to the Pope, and to procure a Restitution of some of his Towns, on which the *Venetians* had seized. But the Pope did not care to have his Guards payed by other Princes; which he looked on as a putting himself in their hands. He was in fear of every thing that might bring a new Calamity upon him; and was now resolved to unite himself firmly with the Emperour, by whose means only, he hoped to reestablish his Family at *Florence*; and ever after this, all the use he made of the King's Earnestness in his Divorce, was only, to draw in the Emperour to his Interests, on the better Terms. The Emperour was also then pressing him hard, for a General Council; of which, besides the aversion that the Court of *Rome* had to it, he had particular reason to be afraid; for being a Bastard, he was threatned with Deposition as incapable, by the Canons of the Church, to hold such a Dignity. The Pope proposed a Journey *incognito*, to *Spain*,  
 and

*The Pope  
 resolved to  
 unite with  
 the Empe-  
 rour.*

and desired *Wolfey* to go with him, for obtaining a General Peace. But in secret, he was making up with the Emperour, and gave his Agents Assurances, that tho the Legates gave Sentence, he would not confirm it. So the King's Correspondents at *Rome*, wrote to him, to set on the War more vigorously against the Emperour, for he could expect nothing at *Rome*, unless the Emperour's Affairs declined.

The Pope went on cajoling those the King sent over, and gave new Assurances, that tho he would not grant a Bull, by which the Divorce should be immediately his own Act; yet he would confirm the Legates Sentence so he resolved: to cast the Load wholly upon them: if he said he did it himself, a Council would be called by the Emperour's means, in which, his Bull would be annulled, and himself deposed, which would bring on a new Confusion; and that, considering the footing Heresy had got, would ruine the Church. The Pope inclined more to the dissolving the Marriage, by the Queen's taking Vowes, as that which could be best defended; but the Cardinal gave him notice, that the Queen would never be brought to that, unless her Nephews advised it. 1529.

At this time, the Pope was taken suddenly ill, and fell in a great Sicknes; upon which, the Imperialists began to prepare for a Conclave: But *Farnese*, and the Cardinal of *Mantua* opposed them, and seemed to have Inclination for *Wolfey*. Whom, as his

*The Pope's Sicknes.*

Book I. his Correspondents wrot to him, they re-  
 verenced as a *Deity*. Upon this he sent a  
 Courier to *Gardiner*, then on his way to  
*Rome*, with large Directions, how to man-  
 age the Election; It was reckoned, that  
 the King of *France*, joyning heartily with  
 the King, of which he seemed confident;  
 there were only six Cardinals wanting, to  
 make the Election sure, and besides Summes  
 of Mony, and other Rewards, that were  
 to be distributed among them; he was to  
 give them assurance, that the Cardinals  
 Preferments should be divided among them.  
 These were the secret Methods of attain-  
 ing that Chair: And indeed it would puz-  
 zle a Man of an ordinary degree of Creduli-  
 ty, to think, That one chosen by such  
 means, could be Christ's Vicar, and the  
 infallible Judge of Controversies. But the  
 Pope's Recovery, put an end to those In-  
 trigues, which yet were soon after revived,  
 by a long and dangerous Relapse. Then  
 great pains was taken, to gain many Car-  
 dinals to favour the King's Cause; and  
 many Precedents were found of Divorces,  
 granted in Favour of Princes, upon much  
 slighter grounds. But the Imperialists  
 were so strong at *Rome*, that they could  
 not hope to prevail, if the Emperour was  
 not first gained; so there was a secret Ne-  
 gotiation set on foot with him, but it had  
 no other Effect, save that it gave great  
 Jealousy, both to the Pope, and the King  
 of *France*. Another dispatch was sent to  
*Rome*, to procure a Commission, with fuller  
 powers



powers in it to the Legates, and a Promise under the Pope's hand to confirm their Sentence; the latter was granted, but the former was refused, for the Pope was resolved to go no further in that Matter, tho *Wolsey* wrote to *Rome*, that if any Justice were denied the King, not only *England*, but *France* likewise would withdraw their Obedience from the Apostolick See; because by that it would be inferred, that the Emperour had such Influence at *Rome*, as to oblige the Pope to be partial or favourable as he pleased. At this time the Cardinal was cheapning his Bulls for *Winchester*, which were rated at 15000 Ducats, but since it was a Translation from *Duresm*, so that a new Composition would come in for that Vacancy, he refused to pay above a third of what was demanded.

The Pope promised to confirm any Sentence the Legates should give.

The Emperour's Ambassadour made a Protestation at *Rome* in the Queen's Name against the Legates as partial in the King's Favour, which the Pope received. *Gardiner*, that was a Man of great Craft, and could penetrate well into Secrets, wrote to the King, assuring him, that he might expect nothing more from the Pope, who was resolved to offend neither the Emperour nor him; and therefore he advised him to get the Legates to give Sentence with all possible hast; and then when it should come to the Emperour's turn to sollicite the Pope for Bulls against the King, the Pope would be as backward as he was now. He was so fearful, and under such irresolution that

1529.

Book I. that he could be brought to do nothing  
 with Vigor : This *Gardiner* desired might  
 1529. not be shewn to the Cardinal ; for he was  
 now setting up for himself, and had a private Correspondence with *Anne Boleyn*, who in one of her Letters to him as a token of special Favour, sent him some Cramp Rings that the King had Blessed, of which the Office is extant ; and *Gardiner* in one of his Letters says, They were much esteemed for the Virtue that was believed to be in them. In the Promise which the Pope signed to confirm the Sentence that should be given by the Legates, some Clauses were put, by which he could easily break loose from it ; so he endeavoured to get another in fuller termes, by this Artifice : He told the Pope, that the Courier had met with an Accident in passing a River, by which the Promise was so spoiled with Water, that it could not be made use of. But the Pope instead of being caught with this, to give a new one, seemed glad that it was spoiled, and positively refused to renew it. And a long and earnest Letter which the Legates wrote to the Pope, pressing him to end the matter roundly by a Decretal Bull, assuring him it was only scruple of Conscience that wrought on the King, and no desire of a new Wife, and that the whole Nation was much offended with the delays of this Matter, in which they were all so much concerned, wrought nothing on him ; for he considered that as done by them only in compliance with the King, who thought he had intirely

intirely gained *Campegio*, and the scandals of his Life were so publick; that the motives of Interest were likely to prevail on him more than any other: but by all the Arts that were used, they were not able to over-reach the Pope; who whatever he might be in his Decisions; seemed infallible in his Sagacity and Jealousy. The Queen's Agents pressed hard for an Avocation, but the Pope was unwilling to grant that, till he had finished his Treaty in all other points with the Emperour, and he began to complain much of the cold Proceedings of the Confederates, and that they exposed him so much not only to the Emperour's Mercy, but to the scorn of the *Florentines*: by this it was visible; he was seeking a Colour for casting himself into the Emperour's Arms: great Objections were made to the Motion for an Avocation, it was contrary to the King's Prerogative to be cited to *Rome*; and it was said he would seek Justice of the Clergy of *Engl.* if the Pope denied it. It was also contrary to the Promise under the Popes hand, and his Faith often given by word of mouth, chiefly of late by *Campana*, to recal the Legat's Commission: but verbal Promises did not bind the Pope much, they vanished into Air; and *Campana* swore that he had not made any, and for the written Promise, there was a Clause put in it, by which he could escape, so that he was at liberty from all Ingagements but those he had privately given in discourse, and to these he was no Slave.

## Book I.

1529.  
The Pro-  
cess begun  
in Eng-  
land.

The Legates began the Process in *England*, after the necessary Preliminaries: the Queen appeared, and protested against them as incompetent Judges: endeavours were used to terrify her into some compliance; it was given out that some had intended to kill the King or the Cardinal, and that she had some hand in it, that she carried very disobligingly to the King, and used many indecent Arts to be popular; that the King was in danger of his Life by her means, and so could no more keep her company neither in Bed nor at Board; but she was a Woman of so resolute a mind, that no Threatnings could daunt her. When both the King and She were together in the Court, the Queen instead of answering to the Legates, kneeled down before the King, and spake in a manner that raised Compassion in all that were present; she said, She had been his Wife these twenty Years, had born him several Children, and had always studied to please him, therefore she desired to know wherein she had at any time offended him. As for their Marriage it was made by both their Parents, who were esteemed wise Princes, and had no doubt good Counsellours when their Match was agreed on; but at present she neither had indifferent Judges, nor could she expect that her Lawyers being his Subjects durst speak freely for her, and therefore she could not expect Justice there; so she went out of the Court, and would never return to it any more. Upon this the King

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gave



gave her a great Character for her extraordinary Qualities, and protested, he was acted by no other Principle, then that of Conscience. He added, that *Wolsey* did not set him on to this Suit; but had opposed it long: that he first moved the matter in Confession to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and had desired the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to procure him the Resolution of the Bishops of *England*, in his Case; and that they had all under their hands declared, that his Marriage was unlawful. The Bishop of *Rochester* denied he had signed it; but *Warham* pretended, he gave him leave to make another write his Name to it. *Fisher* denied this, and it was no way probable.

1529.

The Legates went on according to the forms of Law, tho the Queen appealed from them to the Pope, and excepted both to the Place, to the Judges, and her Lawyers: Yet they pronounced her *Contumax*, and went on to Examine Witnesses; chiefly, to that particular of the Consummation of her Marriage with Prince *Arthur*. But now since the Process was thus going on, the Emperours Agents prest the Pope vehemently for an Avocation; and all possible endeavours were used by the King's Agents to hinder it; they spared nothing that would work on the Pope, either in the way of perswasion, or threatening: It was told him, that there was a Treaty set on foot, between the King, and the *Lutheran* Princes of *Germany*; and that upon the Pope's declaring himself so

*The Queen  
appeals to  
the Pope.*

Book I. partial, as to grant the Avocation, he would certainly imbarke in the same Interests with them. But the Pope thought the King was so far ingaged in Honour in the Points of Religion, that he would not be prevailed with to unite with *Luther's* Followers: So he did not imagine, that the Effects of his granting the Avocation, would be so dismal, as the Cardinal's creatures represented them: He thought it would probably ruine him, which might make his Agents use such Threatnings, and he did not much consider that, for he hated him in his heart. So in Conclusion, after the Emperour had engaged to him, to restore his Family to the Government of *Florence*, he resolved to publish his Treaty with him: But that the granting the Avocation, might not look like (what indeed it was) a secret Article, he resolved to begin with that; and with great signs of sorrow, he told the *English* Embassadors, that he was forced to it; both because all the Lawyers told him, it could not be denied, and that he could not resist the Emperours Forces, which surrounded him on all hands. Their endeavours to gain a little time by delays, were as fruitless as their other Arts had been, for on the 15th of July, the Pope signed it, and on the 19th, he sent it by an expresse Messenger to England.

The Pope grants an Avocation.

The Legates, *Campegio* in particular, drew out the matter, by all the delays they could contrive, and gained much time.

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time. At last, it being brought to that, that Sentence was to be pronounced, *Campegio*, instead of doing it, adjourned the Court till *October*, and said, that they being a part of the Consistory, must observe their times of Vacation. This gave the King and all his Court great offence, when they saw what was like to be the Issue of a Process; on which the King was so much bent; and in which he was so far engaged, both in Honour and Interest. *Campegio* had nothing to lose in *England*, but the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, for which, the Pope or Emperour could easily recompence him; but *Wolsey* was under all the Terrours, that an Insolent Favorite is liable to, upon a change in his Fortune; None being more abject in misfortune, than those that are lifted up with Success. When the Avocation was brought to *England*, the King was willing, that the Legates should declare their Commission void, but would not suffer the Letters Citatory to be served, for he looked upon it as below his Dignity to be cited to appear at *Rome*. The King governed himself upon this occasion, with more temper than was expected: He dismissed *Campegio* civilly, only his Officers searched his Coffers, when he went beyond Sea, with design, as was thought, to see if the Decretal Bull could be found. *Wolsey* was now upon the point of being disgraced, tho the King seemed to treat him with the same Confidence he had formerly put in him; it being ordina-

Book I ry for many Princes to hide their designs  
 of disgracing their Favourites, with higher  
 Expressions of kindnesse than ordinary,  
 till their Ruine breaks out the more violently,  
 because it is not foreseen.

Cranmer's  
 Rise.

At this time, Dr. *Cranmer*, a Fellow of *Jesus-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, meeting accidentally with *Gardiner*, and *Fox*, at *Wal-tham*, and being put on the Discourse of the King's Marriage, proposed a new Method, which was, That the King should engage the chief Universities, and Divines of *Europe*, to examine the lawfulness of his Marriage; and if they gave their Resolutions against it, then it being certain, that the Pope's Dispensation could not derogate from the Law of God, the Marriage must be declared null: This was new, and seemed reasonable; so they proposed it to the King, who was much taken with it, and said, *he had the Sow by the right Ear*: He saw this way was both better in it self, and would mortify the Pope extreamly; so *Cranmer* was sent for, and did so behave himself, that the King conceived an high opinion, both of his Learning and Prudence, and of his Probity and Sincerity, which took such root in the King's mind, that no Artifices, nor Calumnies, were ever able to remove it.

Wolsey is  
 disgraced.

But as he was thus in his Rise, so *Wolsey* did now decline. The Great Seal was taken from him, and given to Sir *Thomas Moor*: And he was sued in a Premunire, for having held the Legatine Courts by a

For



1529.

Forraign Authority, contrary the Laws of *England*: He confessed the Indictment, and pleaded Ignorance, and submitted himself to the King's Mercy; so Judgment passed on him: Then was his rich Palace (now *Whitehall*) and Royal Furniture, seized on to the King's use: Yet the King received him again into his Protection, and restored to him the Temporalities of the Sees of *Tork* and *Winchester*, and above 6000 *l.* in Plate, and other Goods: And there appeared still great and clear Prints in the King's mind, of that entire Confidence, to which he had received him: of which, as his Enemies were very apprehensive, so he himself was so much transported with the Messages he had concerning it, that once he fell down on his knees in a Kennel before them that brought them. Articles were put in against him, in the House of Lords; it seems, for a Bill of Attainder, where he had but few Friends; which all insolent Favourites may expect in their Disgrace. In the House of Commons, *Cromwel*, that had been his Secretary, did so manage the matter, that it came to nothing. This failing, his Enemies procured an order to be sent to him, to go into *Yorkshire*: Thither he went in great State, with 160 Horses in his Train, and 72 Carts following him, and there he lived some time: But the King was informed, that he was practising with the Pope, and the Emperour: So the Earl of *Northumberland* was sent to arrest him of high Treason, and bring him

Book I. up to *London*. On the way he sickned, which different collours of Wit may impute, either to a greatnes, or meanness of Mind, tho the last be the truer. In *His Death* Conclusion, he died at *Leicester*, making great Protestations, of his constant Fidelity to the King, particularly in the matter of his Divorce: And he wished he had served God, as faithfully as he had done the King; for then he would not have cast him off in his gray Hairs, as the King had done. Words that declining Favourites are apt to reflect on, but they seldom remember them in the hight of their Fortune.

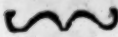
*A Parliament is called.*

The King thought it necessary, to secure himself of the Affections, and Confidences of his People, before he would venture on any thing that should displease two such mighty Potentates, as the Pope, and the Emperour. So a Parliament was called; in it the Commons prepared several Bills, against some of the Corruptions of the Clergy; particularly, against Plurality of Benefices, and Non-residence: Abuses, that even Popery it self, could not but condemn. The Clergy abhorred the Precedent of the Commons, meddling in Ecclesiastical matters; so *Fisher* spoke vehemently against them, and said, all this flowed from *lack, of Faith*.

Upon this, the Commons complained of him to the King, for reproaching them; the House of Peers either thought it no breach of Priviledge, or were willing to wink

wink at it, for they did not interpose. *Book I.*  
*Fisher* was hated by the Court, for adher-  
 ing so firmly to the Queen's Interests; so  
 he was made to explain himself, and it was  
 passed over. 1530.

The Bills were much opposed by the *The Kings*  
 Clergy, but in the end they were passed, *Debts are*  
 and had the Royal Assent. In this long *discharged*  
 Interval of Parliament, the King had bor-  
 rowed great Sums of Money; so the Parlia-  
 ment, both to discourage that way of sup-  
 plying Kings for the Future; and for ru-  
 ining the Cardinal's Creatures, who had  
 been most forward to lend, as having the  
 greatest Advantages from the Govern-  
 ment, did by an Act discharge the King of  
 all those Debts. The King granted a ge-  
 neral Pardon, with an exception of such  
 as had incurred the pains of Premunire,  
 by acknowledging a Forraign Jurisdic-  
 tion, with design to terrify the Pope, and  
 keep the Clergy under the lash. The  
 King found it necessary, to make all sure  
 at home, for now were the Pope and Em-  
 perour, linkt in the firmest Friendship pos-  
 sible; The Pope's Nephew was made  
 Duke of *Florence*, and married the Em-  
 perour's Natural Daughter. A Peace was  
 also made between *Francis* and the Empe-  
 rour; and the King found it not so easy,  
 to make him break with the Pope, upon  
 his account, as he had expected. The  
 Emperour went into *Italy*, and was crown-  
 ed by the Pope; who when the Emperour  
 was kneeling down to kiss his Foot, hum-  
 bled

Book I. bled himself so far as to draw it in, and kiss  
 his Cheek.

1530.  
*The Uni-  
 versities  
 declare a-  
 gainst the  
 King's  
 Marriage.*

But now the King intending to proceed in the Method proposed by *Cranmer*, sent to *Oxford*, and *Cambridg*, to procure their Conclusions. At *Oxford*, it was referred by the major part of the Convocation, to thirty three Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, whom that Faculty was to name; they were impowered to determine the Question, and put the Seal of the University to their Conclusion: And they gave their Opinions, that the Marriage of the Brother's Wife, was contrary both to the Laws of God, and Nature. At *Cambridg*, the Convocation was unwilling to refer it to a select number; yet it was after some days Practice, obtained, but with great difficulty, that it should be referred to twenty nine; of which number, two thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the Seal of the University to their Determination: These agreed in Opinion, with those of *Oxford*. The jealousy that went of Dr. *Cranmer*'s favouring Lutheranism, made, that the fierce Popish Party, opposed every thing in which he was so far engaged. They were also afraid of *Ann Bolleyn*'s Advancement, who was believed tinctured with those Opinions. *Crook*, a learned Man in the Greek Tongue, was employed in *Italy*, to procure the Resolution of Divines there; in which, he was so successful, that besides the great discoveries he made in searching the Manuscripts of  
the



1530.

the Greek Fathers, concerning their Opinions in this point, he engaged several Persons to write for the King's Cause; and also got the *Jews* to give their Opinions of the Laws in *Leviticus*, that they were Moral and Obligatory: Yet when a Brother died without Issue, his Brother might marry his Widow within *Judea*, for preserving their Families, and Succession; but they thought that might not be done out of *Judea*. The State of *Venice* would not declare themselves, but said they would be Neutrals; and it was not easy to perswade the Divines of the Republick, to give their Opinions, till a Brief was obtained of the Pope, permitting all Divines, and Canonists, to deliver their Opinions, according to their Consciences; which was not granted but with great difficulty. *Crook* was not in a condition to corrupt any, for he complained in all his Letters, of the great want he was in: And he was in such ill terms with *John Cassali*, the King's Embassadour at *Venice*, that he complained much of him to the King, and was in fear of being poysoned by him. The Pope abhorred this way of proceeding, though he could not decently oppose it; but he said in great scorn, that no Friar should set Limits to his Power. *Crook* was ordered to give no Mony, nor make Promises to any, till they had freely delivered their Opinion; which as he writ, he had so carefully observed, that he offered to forfeit his Head, if the contrary were found true.

Book I. true. Fifteen, or Twenty Crowns, was all the reward he gave, even to those that  
 1530. wrot for the King's Cause; and a few Crowns he gave to some of those that subscribed: But the Emperour rewarded those that wrot against the Divorce, with good Benefices; so little reason there was to ascribe the Subscriptions he procured to Corruption; the contrary of which, appears by his Original Accounts, yet extant. Besides, many Divines, and Canonists; not only whole Houses of Religious Orders, but even the University of *Bononia*, tho the Pope's Town, declared, that the Laws in *Leviticus*, about the degrees of Marriage, were parts of the Law of Nature; and that the Pope could not dispense with them. The University of *Padua*, determined; the same as also that of *Ferrara*. In all, *Crook* sent over to *England*, an hundred several Books, and Papers, with many Subscriptions; all condemning the King's Marriage, as unlawful in it self. At *Paris*, the *Sorbon* made their Determination, with great Solemnity; after a Mass of the Holy Ghost, all the Doctors took an Oath, to study the Question, and to give their Judgment according to their Consciences; and after three Weeks study, the greater part agreed in this, *That the King's Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope could not dispense with it.* At *Orleans*, *Angiers*, and *Tholouse*, they determined to the same purpose. *Erasmus* had a mind to live in quiet, and so he would not give his Opinion, nor offend either

*The Sorbon declares against the Marriage.*

either party. *Grineus* was implored to try what *Bucer*, *Zuinglius*, and *Oecolampadius* thought of the Marriage. *Bucer's* Opinion was, that the Laws in *Leviticus* did not bind, and were not moral: Because God, not only dispensed, but commanded them to marry their Brother's Wife, when he died without Issue. *Zuinglius*, and *Oecolampadius*, were of another mind, and thought these Laws were moral: But were of Opinion, that the Issue by a Marriage, *de facto*, grounded upon a received Mistake, ought not to be Illegitimated.

Book I.  
1530.  
The Opinion of the Reformed Divines, about it,

*Calvin* thought the Marriage was null, and they all agreed, that the Pope's Dispensation was of no force. *Osiander* was imploied to engage the *Lutheran* Divines, but they were affraid of giving the Emperour new grounds of displeasure. *Melancthon* thought the Law in *Leviticus* was dispensable, and that the Marriage might be lawful; and that in those matters, States and Princes might make what Laws they pleased; And though the Divines of *Leipsick*, after much disputing about it, did agree, that these Laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to justify the Divorce, with the subsequent Marriage that followed upon it, even after it was done: and that the King appeared very inclinable to receive their Doctrine; So steadily did they follow their Consciences, even against their Interests: But the Pope was more compliant, for he offered to *Cassali*

Book I. *fali*, to grant the King a Dispensation for having another Wife, with which the Imperialists seemed not dissatisfied.

1530.

*Many of  
the Nobles  
write  
to the  
Pope.*

*The Pope's  
Answer.*

The King's Cause being thus fortified, by so many Resolutions in his Favours, he made many members of Parliament in a Prorogation time, sign a Letter to the Pope, complaining, that notwithstanding the great merits of the King, the Justice of his Cause, and the Importance of it to the safety of the Kingdom; yet the Pope made still new Delays; they therefore pressed him to dispatch it speedily, otherwise they would be forced to see for other Remedies, tho they were not willing to drive things to Extremities, till it was unavoidable: The Letter was signed by the Cardinal, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, four other Bishops, 22 Abbots, 42 Peers, and 11 Commoners. To this the Pope wrote an answer: He took notice of the Vehemence of their Stile; He freed himself from the Imputations of Ingratitude, and Injustice: He acknowledged the King's great Merits; and said, he had done all he could in his Favour: He had granted a Commission, but could not refuse to receive the Queen's Appeal; all the Cardinals with one consent judged, that an Avocation was necessary. Since that time, the delays lay not at his door, but at the Kings; that he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as speedy an Issue, as the Importance of it would admit of; and for their Threatnings, they were neither



ther agreeable to their Wisdom, nor their Religion. Book I

Things being now in such a Posture, the King set out a Proclamation; against any that should purchase, bring over, or publish any Bull from *Rome*, contrary to his Authority: and after that he made an Abstract of all the Reasons and Authorities of Fathers, or modern Writers, against his Marriage to be published, both in *Latin* and *English*. 1530.  
November

The main stress was laid on the Laws in *Leviticus*, of the forbidden Degrees of Marriage; among which, this was one, *not to marry the Brother's Wife*. These Marriages are called *Abominations*, that defile the Land; and for which, the *Canaanites* were cast out of it. The Exposition of Scripture, was to be taken from the Tradition of the Church; and by the Universal Consent of all Doctors, those Laws had been still looked on as Moral, and ever binding to Christians, as well as *Jews*: Therefore, *Gregory the Great*, advised *Austin* the Monk, upon the Conversion of the *English*; among whom, the Marriages of the Brother's Wife were usual, to dissolve them, looking on them as grievous Sins: Many other Popes, as *Calixtus*, *Zacharias*, and *Innocent* the Third, had given their Judgments, for the perpetual Obligation of those Laws: They had been also condemned by the Councils of *Neocesarea*, *Agde*, and the second of *Toledo*. Among *Wickliff's* condemned Opinions, this was one, The Arguments for the Divorce,

that

Book I.

1530.

that the Prohibitions of marrying in such degrees, were not founded on the Law of God: For which he was condemned in some English Councils, and these were confirmed by the General Council at *Constance*. Among the Greek Fathers, both *Origen*, *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, and *Hesychius*; and among the Latins, *Tertullian*, *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, and St. *Austine*, do formerly deliver this, as the belief of the Church in their time, that those Laws were Moral, and still in force: *Anselm*, *Hugo de sancto Victore*, *Hildebert*, and *Ivo*, argue very fully to the same purpose, the last particularly; writing concerning the King of *France*, who had married his Brothers Wife, says; it was inconsistent with the Law of God, with which none can dispence; and that he could not be admitted to the Communion of the Church; till he put her away. *Aquinas*, and all the School-men; follow these Authorities, and in their way of reasoning, they argue fully for this Opinion; and all that writ against *Wickliff*, did also assert the Authority of those Prohibitions; in particular, *Waldensis*, whose Books were approved by Pope *Martin* the Fifth. All the Canonists did also agree with them, as *Johannes Andreas*, *Panormitan*, and *Ostiensis*; so that Tradition being the only sure Expounder of the Scripture, the Case seemed clear. They also proved, that a Consent without Consummation, made the Marriage compleat, which being a Sacrament, that which followed after in the

Right

Right of Marriage, was not necessary to make it compleat, as a Priest saying Mass consummates his Orders, which yet were compleat without it. Many Testimonies were brought to confirm this; from which it was inferred that the Queen's being married to Prince *Arthur*, tho nothing had followed upon it, made her incapable of a lawful Marriage with the King. And yet they shewed what violent Presumptions there were of Consummation, which was all that in such Cases was sought for, and this was expressed both in the Bull and Breve, tho but dubiously in the one, yet very positively in the other. After that they examined the Validity of the Pope's Dispensation. It was a received Maxime, that tho the Pope had Authority to dispense with the Laws of the Church, yet he could not dispense with the Laws of God, which were not subject to him: And it had been judged in the *Rota* at *Rome*, when a Dispensation was asked for a King to marry his Wives Sister, that it could not be granted; and when Precedents were alledged for it, it was answered, that the Church was to be governed by Laws, and not by Examples, and if any Pope had granted such Dispensation, it was either out of Ignorance or Corruption. This was not only the Opinion of the School-men, but of the Canonists, tho they are much set on raising the Pope's Power, as high as is possible: And therefore *Alexander* the third, refused to grant a Dispensation in a like case, tho the Parent had

Book I. sworn to make his Son marry his Brother's  
 ~~~~~ Widow; others went further, and said,  
 1530. The Pope could not dispense with the Laws  
 of the Church, which several ancient Popes  
 had declared against, and it was said, that  
 the *fulcrum* of Power, with which the Pope  
 was vested, did only extend to the pa-  
 storall Care, and was not for Destruction,  
 but for Edification; and that as St. *Paul*  
 opposed St. *Peter* to his Face, so had many  
 Bishops withstood Popes, when they pro-  
 ceeded against the Canons of the Church;  
 So both *Lawrence* and *Dunstan* in *England*,  
 had proceeded to Censures; notwithstand-  
 ing the Pope's Authority interposed to the  
 contrary; and no Authority being able to  
 make what was a Sin in it self become law-  
 ful; every Man that found himself engaged  
 in a sinful course of Life, ought to forsake  
 it; and therefore the King ought to with-  
 draw from the Queen, and the Bishops of  
*England* in case of refusal ought to proceed  
 to Censures. Upon the whole matter, Tra-  
 dition was that upon which all the Writers  
 of Controversy, particularly now in the  
 Contests with the *Lutherans*, founded the  
 Doctrine of the Church, as being the only  
 infallible Exposition of the doubtful parts of  
 Scripture; and that being so clear in this  
 matter, there seemed to be no room for any  
 further Debate.

Argu-  
 ments a-  
 gainst it.

On the other hand, *Cajetan* was the first  
 Writer, that against the stream of former  
 Ages thought that the Laws of *Leviticus*,  
 were only Judiciary Precepts, binding the  
 \*

Jews,



1530.

*Jews*, and were not moral: his Reasons were, that *Adam's* Children must have married in the Degrees there forbidden. *Jacob* married two Sisters; and *Judah*, according to custom, gave his two Sons, and promised a third to the same Woman. *Moses* also appointed the Brother to marry the Brother's Wife when he died without Issue. But a Moral Law is for ever, and in all Cases binding; and it was also said, that the Pope's power reached even to the Laws of God, for he dispensed with Oaths and Vows; and as he had the Power of determining Controversies, so he only could declare what Laws were moral and indispensable, and what were not; nor could any Bishops pretend to judg concerning the extent of his Power, or the validity of his Bulls.

To all this, those that writ for the King, answered, That it was strange to see Men who pretended such Zeal against Hereticks, follow their Method, which was to set up private reasonings from some Texts of Scripture, in opposition to the received Tradition of the Church, which was the bottom in which all good Catholicks thought themselves safe; and if *Cajetan* wrote in this manner against the received Doctrin of the Church in one Particular, why might not *Luther* take the same liberty in other Points? They also made distinction in moral Laws, between those that were so from the nature of the thing which was indispensable, and could in no

Book I. Case be lawful ; and to this fort, no Degrees, but those of Parents and Children, could be reduced ; other Moral Laws were only grounded upon publick Inconveniences, and Dishonesty, such as the other Degrees were ; for the Familiarities that Persons so nearly related live in, are such, that unless a Terrour were struck in them, by a perpetual Law against such mixtures, Families would be much defiled : But in such Laws, tho God may grant a Dispensation in some particular Cases, yet an Inferiour Authority cannot pretend to it : and some Dispensations granted in the latter Ages, ought not to be set up to balance the Decisions of so many Popes, and Councils against them, and the Doctrine taught by so many Fathers and Doctors in former times.

Both sides having thus brought forth the strength of their Cause ; it did evidently appear, That according to the Authority given to Tradition in the Church of *Rome*, the King had clearly the Right on his side, and that the Pope's Party did write with little sincerity in this matter, being guilty of that manner of arguing from Texts of Scriptures, for which they had so loudly charged the *Lutherans*.

The Queen continued firm to her Resolution, of leaving the matter in the Pope's Hands, and therefore would hearken to no Propositions that were made to her, for referring the matter to the Arbitration of some chosen on both sides.

A Session of Parliament followed in *January*, in which the King made the Decisions of the Universities, and the Books that were written for the Divorce, be first read in the House of Lords, and then they were carried down by Sir *Thomas More*, and 12 Lords, both of the Spirituality, and Temporality, to the Commons. There were twelve Seals of Universities shewed, and their Decisions were read, first in Latin, and then Translated into English. There were also an hundred Books shewed, written on the same Argument: Upon the shewing these, the Chancellor desired them to report in their Countries, that they now clearly saw, that the King had not attempted this matter of his meer will and pleasure, but for the discharge of his Conscience, and the security of the Succession of the Crown. This was also brought into the Convocation, who declared themselves satisfied, concerning the unlawfulness of the Marriage: but the Circumstances they were then in, made that their Declaration was not much considered; for they were then under the lash. All the Clergy of *England* were sued, as in the case of a *Premunire*, for having acknowledged a Forreign Jurisdiction, and taken out Bulls, and had Suits in the Legatine Court.

1531.

*A Session of Parliament.*

The Kings of *England* did claim such a Power in Ecclesiastical matters, as the Roman Emperours had exercised before the fall of that Empire: Anciently they had

*The Laws of England against Bulls from Rome.*

Book I. had by their Authority divided Bishopricks, granted the Investitures, and made Laws, both relating to Ecclesiastical Causes & Persons. When the Popes began to extend their Power, beyond the Limits assigned them by the Canons, they met with great opposition in *England*, both in the matter of Investitures, Appeals, Legates, and the other Branches of their Usurpations; but they managed all the Advantages they found, either from the Weakness, or ill Circumstances of Princes, so steadily, that in Conclusion, they subdued the World: And if they had not by their cruel Exactions, so oppressed the Clergy, that they were driven to seek Shelter under the Cover of the Temporal Authority, the World was then so over-mastered by Superstition and Credulity, that not only the whole Spiritual Power, but even the Temporal Power of Princes, was likely to have fallen into the Pope's hands: But the discontented Clergy supported the Secular Power, as much as they had before advanced the Papal Tyranny. *Boniface* the 8th, had raised his Pretensions to that impudent pitch, that he declared, all Power, both Ecclesiastical, and Civil, was derived from him, and established that, as an Article of Faith, necessary to Salvation; and he, and his Successors, took upon them, to dispose of all Ecclesiastical Benefices, by their Bulls and Provisions. Upon which, Laws were made in *England*, restraining those Invasions on the Crown; since those Endowments



dowments were made for informing the People of the Law of God, and for Hospitality, and Acts of Charity, which were defeated, as well as the Crown was disinherited by the Provisions which the Popes granted. Therefore they condemned them for the future, but no Punishment being declared for the Transgressors of that Fact, the Courtiers at *Rome* were not frightened at so general a Law; so these Abuses were still continued: But in *Edward* the Third's time, a more severe Law was made, by which, all that transgressed were to be imprisoned, to be fined at pleasure, and to forfeit all their Benefices. By an other Act, they were put out of the King's Protection. Several other Confirmations of this were made, both in that Reign, and under *Richard* the Second; and the former Punishments were extended, not only to the Provisors themselves, but to all that were employed by them, or took Farms of them: and because Licences might be granted by the King for Aliens, to hold Benefices in *England*, he did bind himself to grant none: Others took both Presentations in *England*, and obtained Provisions from *Rome*, which was likewise condemned. The Right of Presentations was tried, only in the King's Courts; but the Popes had a mind to take the Cognizance of that to their own Courts; upon which, the Parliament considering the great Prejudice the Nation was like to suffer, and the Subjection that the

1531.

25.Ed.1

25.Ed.3

Book I. Crown would fall under, resolved to provide effectual Remedies; so all the Commons declared, they would live and die with the King, and desired him to examine all the Lords, whether they would uphold the Regality of the Crown. The Temporal Lords declared, they would do it; But the Spiritual Lords made some difficulty; yet in Conclusion, they also promised, they would adhere to the Crown: So a Law passed, that if any purchased, Translations, Excommunications, or Bulls, from *Rome*, that were contrary to the King, or his Crown, they, and all that brought them over, or that received, or executed them, were declared to be out of the King's Protection, and that their Goods and Chattels should be forfeited to the King, and their Persons imprisoned. And because the Proceedings upon this, were by a Writ, called, from the most material Words of it, *Premunire facias*; this Statute carried the name of the Statute of *Premunire*. There was also a Law passed in *Henry* the Fourth's Reign, against some Bulls, which the *Cisterrians* had procured, and against the high Rates set on Bulls in the Apostolick Chamber; and whereas the King had been prevailed with, to give Licences for some Bulls, by which the Provisors put the Incumbents out of their Benefices, these were all declared to be of no force, when done in prejudice of the Subjects Rights. The Invasions that both the Popes and Kings made upon Elections, were

were by another Law condemned, and Book I:  
 the Liberty of Elections was again set up, But those Kings being more concerned to  
 1531.  
 preserve their own Prerogative, than the Rights of their People, were often prevailed with, to grant Pardons, and Licences, to those who obtained Provisions at Rome; so these were all again condemned in Henry the Fifth's time.

In all this time, the weakness of the Papacy, gave Princes some Advantages, 4 Hen. 5.  
 which they had not in former Ages; for a great while the Popes sate at *Avignon*, where they were much eclipsed of their former Greatness: After that a Schism followed between the Popes that sate at Rome, and those that still sate at *Avignon*; and the Princes of Christendom, being then at liberty, to choose which of those they would acknowledg; the Popes durst not thunder against those Laws, as they had done in former times, upon much less Provocation. And indeed all the use that the Kings made of them, was, to oblige the Provisors to come and depend on them for their Licence to executetheir Bulls; and the King's Authority being joyned with the Popes, it was hard for those who were oppressed to resist that double force: Nor was there any vigorous Execution made of those Laws, otherwayes than to draw Mony from the Provisors: For it fell out in this case, what is ordinary on all such occasions, that Favourites make use of good Laws; by which, Power is trusted to the Prince, for the Protection

Book I. Protection and Security of the Subjects,  
 only for their own ends. It was a strange  
 weakness in the Princes of Christendom,

1531.

6.Hen.6.

to take such pains as was done at *Constance*,  
 for healing the Breach in the Papacy, for  
 while that continued, they reigned in  
 peace; and the Clergy was less oppressed  
 than formerly: But that being once made  
 up, the Popes were beginning again to  
 raise their old Pretensions: And Pope  
*Martin* the 5th, not being willing to en-  
 gage with so high spirited a King, as *Henry*  
 the 5th was, he took Advantage in the Mi-  
 nority of *Henry* the Sixth's Reign, to pro-  
 pose a Repeal of those Laws, and first  
 wrote very severely to *Chichely*, then Arch-  
 bishop of *Canterbury*, for not opposing the  
 Statute of Provisors, that had passed in  
 the former Reign; nor standing up for  
 the Rights of *St. Peter*: He therefore ex-  
 hortated him to imitate his Predecessor, *Tho-  
 mas Becket*; and required him to declare  
 at the next Parliament, the unlawfulness  
 of it; and that all who obeyed it, were  
 under Excommunication: He also requir-  
 ed him to order the Clergy, to preach  
 every where against it. Yet *Chichely* did  
 not proceed so zealously as the Pope ex-  
 pected, and therefore he suspended his  
 Legatine Power. The Archbishop appeal-  
 ed upon this from the Pope, to the next Ge-  
 neral Council, or if none met, to the Tri-  
 bunal of God: But the Pope wrote also  
 to the Clergy, requiring them to do what  
 in them lay, for the repeal of the Statute:

And



And in another Letter to the two Archbishops; in which, in spite to *Chicheley*, *Tork* is first named; he annulled the Statutes made by *Edward* the Third, and *Richard* the Second; and declared all to be excommunicated that executed them, reserving the absolution of them to himself, unless they were at the point of death: And he required them to publish, and affix this his Monitory Brief. The Archbishop humbled himself to the Pope; and got the other Bishops, and the University of *Oxford*, to write in his Favour to him; which they did, according to the flattering, and vain stile of that Age: In his own Letter he says, he had not opened the Pope's Brief, and so did not know what it contained, being required by the King to bring it to him with the Seals intire. The Pope wrote also both to the King and Parliament, requiring them, under the pains of Excommunication, and Damnation, to repeal those Statutes. Upon the meeting of the next Parliament, the Archbishop, accompanied by several Bishops, and Abbots, went to the House of Commons, and made them a long Speech, in the form of a Sermon, upon that Text, *Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesars, and to God the things that are Gods*; And exhorted them to repeal those Laws against the Pope's power, in granting Provisors; and with Tears laid out the mischiefs that would follow, if the Pope should proceed to Censures. But the Commons would

1427.

Book I. would not repeal those Laws; yet they were left as dead Letters among the Records, for no care was taken to execute them. The Pope was so far satisfied with *Chichely's* behaviour, that he received him again to favour, and restored to him the Legatine Power. This being hitherto mentioned by none of our Writers, it seemed no impertinent Digression to give this account of it.

*The Clergy  
sued in a  
Præmunire*

Now were those long forgotten Statutes revived, to bring the Clergy into a Snare: It was designed by the terrour of this, to force them into an intire Submission; and to oblige them to redeem themselves by the grant of a considerable Subsidy. They pretended they had erred ignorantly; for the King by his favour to the Cardinal, seemed to consent, if not to encourage that Authority which he then exercised: It was a publick Errour, and so they ought not to be punished for it. To all this it was answered, that the Laws which they had transgressed, were still in force, and so no Ignorance could excuse the Violation of them. The Convocation of *Canterbury* made their Submission, and in their Address to the King, he was called *the Protector, and Supream Head of the Church of England*; but some excepting to that, it was added, *in so far as it is agreeable to the Law of Christ*. This was signed by Nine Bishops, Fifty Abbots and Priors, and the greatest part of the Lower House; and with it they offered the King a Subsidy,

to

to procure his Favour, of an 100000 *l.* and they promised for the future, not to make nor execute, any Constitutions, without his Licence. The Convocation of *York* did not pass this so easily; they excepted to the word *Head*, as agreeing to none but Christ: Yet the King wrote them a long expostulating Letter, and told them, with what Limitations those of *Canterbury* had passed that Title; upon which they also submitted, and offered him 18840 *l.* which was also well received; and so all the Clergy were again received into the King's Protection, and pardoned. But when the King's Pardon was brought into the Parliament, the Laity complained, that they were not included within it; for many of them were also obnoxious on the same account, in some measure, having had Suits in the Legatine Court; and they did apprehend, that they might be brought in trouble: And therefore they addressed to the King, and desired to be comprehended within it: But the King told them, his mercy was neither to be restrained, nor forced. This put the House of Commons in great trouble; but they past the Act: And soon after, the King sent a Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, which was received with great Joy; and they acknowledged, that the King had tempered his Greatness with his Clemency, in his way of proceeding in this matter.

In this Session, one *Rouse*, that had poisoned a great Pot of Porridge, in the Bishop

Book I. shop of *Rocheſter's* Kitchen, of which two had died, and many had been brought near Death, was attainted of Treason, and condemned to be boiled to death; and that was made the Punishment of Poisoning in time to come. By this Act the Parliament made a Crime to be Treason that was not so before, and punished the Person accordingly: which was founded on the Power reserved in the 25th of *Edward* the 3d to Parliaments, to declare in time coming what Crimes were Treason. This severe Sentence was executed in *Smithfield*; *Rouſe* accusing none as his Complices, tho malicious Persons did afterwards impute that Action of his to a design of *Anne Bolleyn* upon *Fisher's* Life; but his silence under so terrible a Condemnation, shewed he could not charge others with it.

The King  
departs  
from the  
Queen.

After the Sessions of Parliament, new Applications were made to the Queen to perswade her to depart from her Appeal; but she remained fixed in her Resolution, and said, she was the King's lawful Wife, and would abide by it till the Court at *Rome* should declare the contrary. Upon that the King desired her to chuse any of his Houses in the Country to live in, and resolved never to see her more.

A Tumult  
among the  
Clergy.

The Clergy were now raising the Subsidy, and the Bishops intended to make the inferiour Clergy pay their share: But upon the Bishop of *London's* calling some few of them together, on whom he hoped to prevail, and make them set a good Example



ple to the rest, all the Clergy hearing of it, came to the Chapter-house and forced their way in, tho the Bishop's Officers did what they could by Violence to keep them out. The Bishop made a Speech, setting forth the King's Clemency, in accepting such a Subsidy instead of all their Benefices, which they had forfeited to him, and therefore desired them to bear their share in it patiently. They answered that they had not meddled with the Cardinal's Faculties, nor needed they the King's Pardon, not having transgressed his Laws; and therefore since the Bishops and Abbots only were in fault, it was reasonable that they only should raise the Subsidy. Upon this the Bishop's Officers, and They came to very high Words, and it ended in Blows: But the Bishop quieted them all he could with good Words, and dismissed them with a Promise that none should be brought unto question for what had been then done; yet he complained to *More* of it, and he put many of them in Prison: But the thing was let fall.

This Year produced a new Breach between the Pope and the Emperour; the Pope pretended to *Modeno* and *Regio* as Fiefs of the Papacy; but the Emperour judged against him for the Duke of *Ferrara*. Upon this the Pope resolved to unite himself to the Crown of *France*; and *Francis*, to gain him more entirely, proposed a Match between his second Son *Henry*, and the Pope's Niece, the famous *Catherine de Medici*.

The Pope turns to the Interest of *France*.

Book I.

1532.

*diti*; which as it wrought much on the Pope's Ambition, so it was like to prove a great support to his Family. *Francis* also offered to resign all his Pretentions in *Italy* to his Son *Henry*, which was like to draw in other Princes to a League with him, who would have been much better pleased to see a King's younger Son among them, than either the Emperour or the King of *France*. The King's Matter was now in a fairer way of being adjusted; for the Pope's Conscience being directed by his Interests, since he had now broken with the Emperour, it was probable he would give the King content. He saw the danger of losing *England*. The Interest of the Clergy was much sunk, and they were in a great measure subjected to the Crown. *Lutheranism* was also making a great Progress, and the Pope was out of any danger from the Emperour, on whom the whole Power of the *Turkish* Empire was now fallen, drawn in, as was believed, by the Practices of *Francis* at the *Port*, tho that did not well agree with his Title of *Most Christian King*. The Princes of *Germany* took Advantage from this, to make the Emperour consent to some further liberty in matters of Religion, and to secure themselves; they were then also entered into a League with *Francis*, for preserving the Rights of the Empire, unto which King *Henry* was invited. All this raised *Francis* again very high; so he was the fittest Person to mediate an Agreement between the King and the Pope, and being himself a

Lover

Lover of Pleasure, he was the more easily engaged to serve the King in the accomplishment of his Amours. Book I.

1532.

A new Session of Parliament was held, in which the Laity complained of the spiritual Courts, of their way of proceeding *ex Officio*, and not admitting Persons accused to their Purgation. But this was not much considered, by reason of an ill understanding that fell in between the King and the House of Commons. There was a Custom brought in of making such Settlements of Estates, that the Heir was not liable to Wards, and the other Advantages to which the King or the Great Lords had otherwise a Right by their Tenures: So a Bill for regulating that was sent down by the Lords, but the Commons rejected it, which gave the King great Offence; upon that they addressed to the King for a Dissolution, since they had been now obliged to a long Attendance. The King answered them sharply, He said, they had rejected a Bill, in which he had offered a great Abatement of that which he might claim by Law; and therefore he would execute the Law in its utmost severity. He told them he had Patience while his Suit was in dependence, and so they must have likewise. For this Parliament was made up of Men very ill affected to the Clergy, so the King kept it still in being, to terrify the Court of Rome so much the more.

A misunderstanding between the House of Commons,

All that was remarkable that past in this Session was an Act against Annats; it sets forth

An Act against Annats.

**Book I.** forth that they were founded on no Law, they were first enacted to defend Christendom against Infidels, and were now kept up as a Revenue to the Papacy, and Bulls were not granted till they were compounded for : for 800000 Ducats had bin carried out of *England* to *Rome*, on that account since the beginning of the former Reign. The King was bound by his Royal Care of his Subjects to hinder such Oppressions; and therefore all that were provided to great Benefices, were required not to pay *First Fruits* for the future, under the pain of forfeiting all their Goods, and the profits of their Benefices; and those that were presented to Bishopricks were appointed to be consecrated, tho their Bulls were denied at *Rome*, and they were required to pay no more but 5 *per Cent.* of the clear Profits of their Sees. If the Pope should upon this proceed to censures, they required all the Clergy to perform Divine Offices, these notwithstanding. But by an extraordinary Proviso, they referred it to the King to declare at any time between that and Easter next, whether this Act should take place or not : and the King by his Letters Patents declared that it should take place being provoked by the Pope.

The Pope  
writes to  
the King.

In *January* the Pope, upon the motion of the Imperialists wrote to the King, complaining that notwithstanding a Suit was depending concerning his Marriage, yet he had put away his Queen, and kept one *Anne* as his Wife, contrary to a Prohibition



tion served on him; therefore he exhorted him to live with his Queen again, and to put *Anne* away. Upon this the King sent Dr. *Bennet* to *Rome* with a large Dispatch; in it he complained that the Pope proceeded in that matter upon the Suggestion of others, who were ignorant and rash Men: the Pope had carried himself inconstantly and deceitfully in it, and not as became Christ's Vicar: and the King had now for several Years expected a Remedy from him in vain. The Pope had granted a Commission, had promised never to recal it, and had sent over a Decretal Bull defining the Cause. Either these were unjustly granted, or unjustly recalled. If he had Authority to grant these things, where was the Faith which became a Friend, much more a Pope, since he had recalled them? If he had not Authority to grant them, he did not know how far he could consider any thing he did. It was plain that he acted more with regard to his Interests, than according to Conscience; and that, as the Pope had often confessed his own Ignorance in these matters, so he was not furnished with Learned Men to advise him, otherwise he would not maintain a Marriage which almost all the Learned Men and Universities in *England*, *France*, and *Italy*, had condemned as unlawful. He desired the Pope would excuse the Freedom he used, to which his Carriage had forced him. He would not question his Authority, unless he were compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its first and ancient Limits, which was much better than to let

**Book I.** it run on headlong, and still do amiss. This high Letter made the Pope resolve to proceed and end this matter, either by a Sentence, or a Treaty. The King was cited to answer to the Queen's Appeal at *Rome* in Person, or by Proxy: so Sir *Edward Karme* was sent thither in the new Character of the King's Excusator, to excuse the King's Appearance, upon such grounds as could be founded on the Canon Law, and upon the Privileges of the Crown of *England*. *Bonner* that was a forward and ambitious Man, and would stick at nothing that might contribute to his Preferment, was sent over with him. The Imperialists pressed the Pope much to give Sentence, but all the wise Cardinals, who observed by the Proceedings of the Parliament, that the Nation would adhere to the King, if he should be provoked to shake off the Pope's Yoke, were very apprehensive of a Breach, and suggested milder Counsels to the Pope; and the King's Agents assured him, that if he gave the King content, the late Act against *Annats*, should not be put in Execution.

The King cited to *Rome*, excuses himself.

Some Cardinals corrupted.

The Cardinal of *Ravenna* was then considered as an Oracle for Learning in the Consistory, so the King's Agents resolved to gain him with great Promises; but he said, Princes were liberal of their Promises, till their turn was served, and then forgot them; so he resolved to make sure work; therefore he made *Bennet* give him a Promise in writing of the Bishoprick of *Ely*, or the first Bishoprick that fell till that was

\*

vacant

1532.

vacant, and he also engaged that the King should procure him Benefices in *France* to the value of 6000 Ducats a Year, for the Service he should do him in his Divorce. This was an Argument of so great Efficacy with the Cardinal, that it absolutely turned him from being a great Enemy, to be as great a Promoter, of the King's Cause, tho very artificially. Several other Cardinals were also prevailed with, by the same Topicks. The King's Agents put in his Plea of Excuse in 28 Articles, and it was ordered that three of them should be discussed at a hearing before the Consistory, till they should be all examined: But that Court sitting once a Week, the Imperialists, after some of them were heard, procured an Order, that the rest should be heard in a Congregation or Committee of Cardinals, before the Pope, for greater Dispatch: but *Karn* refused to obey this, and so it was referred back to the Consistory. But against this the Imperialists protested, and refused to appear any more. News were brought to *Rome* from *England*, that a Priest that had preached up the Pope's Power, was cast into Prison; and that one committed by the Archbishop for Heresy, appealed to the King as supream Head, which was received and judged in the King's Courts. The Pope made great Complaints upon this: but the King's Agents said, the best way to prevent the like for the future, was to do the King Justice. At this time a Bull was granted for suppressing some Monasteries,

Book I. ries, and erecting new Bishopricks out of  
 1542. them. *Chester* was to be one, and the Cardinal of *Revenna* was so pleased with the Revenue designed for it, that he laid his hand upon it, till *Ely* should happen to fall vacant. In conclusion, the Pope seemed to favour the King's Plea Excusatory, upon which the Imperialists made great Complaints. But this amounted to no more, save that the King was not bound to appear in Person: Therefore the Cardinals that were gained, advised the King to send over a Proxy for answering to the merits of the Cause, and not to lose more time in that Dilatory Plea; and they having declared themselves against the King in that Plea, before the bargain had been made with them, could with the better credit serve him in the other. So the Vacation coming on, it was resolved by the Cardinals neither to admit nor reject the Plea. But both the Pope and the Colledg wrote to the King to send over a Proxy for determining the matter next Winter. *Bonner* was also sent to *England* to assure the King, that the Pope was now so much in the *French* Interest, that he might confidently refer his matter to him; but whereas the King desired a Commission to judg (*in partibus*) upon the place: it was said, that the Point to be judged, being the Pope's Authority to dispense with the King's Marriage, that could not be referred to Legates, but must needs be judged in the Consistory.



At this time a new Session of Parliament was called in *England*. The Clergy gave in an Answer to the Complaints made of them by the Commons in the former Sessions: But when the King gave it to the Speaker, he complained that one *Temse*, a Member of their House, had moved for an Address to the King, that the Queen might be again brought back to the Court; The King said, it touched his Conscience, and was not a thing that could be determined in that House. He wished his Marriage were good, but many Divines had declared it unlawful. He did not make his Suit out of Lust or foolish Appetite, being then past the Heats of Youth; he assured them, his Conscience was troubled, and desired them to report that to the House. Many of the Lords came down to the House of Commons, and told them, the King intended to build some Forts on the Borders of *Scotland*, to secure the Nation from the Inroads of the *Scots*; and the Lords approving of this, sent them to propose it to the Commons, upon which a Subsidy was voted; but upon the breaking out of the Plague, the Parliament was prorogued, before the Act was finished. At that time the King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him he found that the Prelates were but half Subjects; for they swore at their Consecration an Oath to the Pope, that was inconsistent with their Allegiance, and Oath to the King. By their Oath to the Pope, they swore

1532.  
A Session  
of Parlia-  
ment.

The Oaths  
which the  
Bishops  
swore both  
to the  
Pope and  
the King.

Book I. to be in no Council against him, nor to disclose his Secrets; but to maintain the Papacy, and the Regalities of *S. Peter* against all Men; together with the Rights and Authorities of the Church of *Rome*; and that they should honourably entreat the Legats of the Apostolick See, and observe all the Decrees, Sentences, Provisions, and Commandments of that See; and yearly, either in Person or by Proxy, visit the Thresholds of the Apostles. In their Oath to the King, they renounced all Clauses in their Bulls contrary to the King's Royal Dignity, and did swear to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him against all others, and to keep his Counsel; acknowledging that they held their Bishopricks only of him. By these it appeared that they could not keep both those Oaths, in case a Breach should fall out between the King and the Pope. But the Plague broke off the Consultations of Parliament at this time. Soon after, Sir *Thomas More* seeing a Rupture with *Rome* coming on so fast, desired leave to lay down his Office, which was upon that conferred on Sir *Thomas Audley*. He was satisfied with the King's keeping up the Laws formerly made in Opposition to the Papal Incroachments, and so had concured in the Suit of the *Premunire*; but now the matter went further, and so he not being able to keep pace with the Counsels, returned to a private Life, with a Greatness of Mind equal to what the ancient *Greeks* or *Romans* had expressed on such

*More quits*  
*his Office.*

such Occasions. Endeavours were used to fasten some Imputations on him, in the Distribution of Justice; but nothing could be brought against him, to blemish his Integrity.

An Enterveiw followed between the Kings of *France* and *England*; to which, *Ann Bolleyn*, now Marchioness of *Pembrook*, was carried; In which, after the first Ceremonies, and Magnificence was over, *Francis* promised *Henry* to second him in his Suit: He encouraged him to proceed to a second Marriage, without more adoe; and assured him, he would stand by him in it: And told him, he intended to restrain the payment of Annats to *Rome*; and would ask of the Pope a Redress of that and other Grievances; and if it was denied, he would seek other Remedies in a Provincial Council. An Interview was proposed between the Pope and Him; to which he desired the King go with him; and King the was not unwilling to it, if he could have assurance that his Business would be finally determined. The Pope offered to the King, to send a Legate to any indifferent place out of *England*, to form the Process, reserving only the giving Sentence to himself: And proposed to him, and all Princes, a General Truce, that so he might call a General Council. The King answered, that such was the present State of the Affairs of *Europe*, that it was not seasonable to call a General Council; that it was

*An Interview between the King of France, & England.*

Book I. was contrary to his Prerogative to send a  
 Proxy to appear at *Rome*; That by the  
 1530. Decrees of General Councils, all Causes  
 ought to be judged on the place, and by  
 a Provincial Council; and that it was fit-  
 ter to judge it in *England*, than any where  
 else: And that by his Coronation Oath,  
 he was bound to maintain the Dignities  
 of his Crown, and the Rights of his Sub-  
 jects; and not to appear before any for-  
 raign Court: So Sir *Thomas Elliot* was  
 sent over with Instructions, to move, that  
 the cause might be judged in *England*: Yet  
 if the Pope had real Intentions of giving  
 the King full Satisfaction, he was not to  
 insist on that: And to make the Cardinal  
 of *Ravenna* sure, he sent him the offer of the  
 Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, then  
 vacant. Soon after this, the King mar-  
 ried *Ann Bolleyn*; *Rowland Lee* (after-  
 wards Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*)  
 did officiate, none being present but the  
 Duke of *Norfolk*, and her Father, her Mo-  
 ther, and her Brother, and *Cranmer*. It  
 was thought, that the former Marriage  
 being null of it self, the King might pro-  
 ceed to another: And perhaps, they ho-  
 ped, that as the Pope had formerly pro-  
 posed this Method, so he would now ap-  
 prove of it. But tho the Pope had joyn-  
 ed himself to *France*, yet he was still so  
 much in fear of the Emperour, that he  
 resolved not to provoke him; and so was  
 not wrought on by any of the Expedients  
 which *Bennet* proposed, which were either  
 to

Nov. 14.  
*The King*  
*marries*  
*Ann Bol-*  
*leyn.*



to judge the Cause in *England*, according to Book I.  
the Council of *Nice*; or to refer it to the  
Arbitration of some, to be named by the  
King, and the King of *France*, and the  
Pope: for all these, he said, tended to the  
Diminution of the Papal Power. A new  
Citation was issued out, for the King, to  
answer to the Queen's Complaints; but  
the King's Agents protested, that he was  
a Sovereign Prince, that *England* was  
a free Church, over which the Pope had  
no just Authority; and that the King could  
expect no Justice at *Rome*, where the Empe-  
perours Power was so great.

At this time, the Parliament met again, 1533.  
and pass an Act, condemning all Appeals *The Par-*  
to *Rome*: In it they set forth, 'That the *liament* :  
' Crown was Imperial, and that the Na- *condemns*  
' tion was a compleat Body, having full *Appeals to*  
' Power to do Justice in all Cases, both *Rome.*  
' Spiritual, and Temporal: And that as  
' former Kings had maintained the Liber-  
' ties of the Kingdom against the Usurpa-  
' tions of the See of *Rome*; so they found  
' the great Inconveniencies of allowing  
' Appeals in Matrimonial Causes; That  
' they put them to great Charges, and ac-  
' casioned many Delayes: Therefore they  
' enacted, That thereafter those should be  
' all judged within the Kingdom, and no  
' regard should be had to any Appeals  
' to *Rome*, or Censures from it: But Sen-  
' tences given in *England*, were to have  
' their full Effect: and all that exe-  
' cuted any Censures from *Rome*, were  
to

Book I. 'to incur the pains of Premunire. Ap-  
 'peals were to be from the Arch-deacon  
 'to the Bishop; and from him to the Arch-  
 'bishop: And in the Causes that concern-  
 'ed the King, the Appeal was to be to the  
 'upper House, or Convocation.

Cranmer  
 made  
 Archbishop  
 of Canter-  
 bury.

There was now a new Archbishop of  
*Canterbury*; *Warham* died the former Year:  
 He was a great Patron of Learning, a  
 good Canonist, and wise States-man; but  
 was a cruel Persecutor of Hereticks, and in-  
 clined to believe Fanatical Stories. *Cran-*  
*mer* was then in *Germany*, disputing in the  
 King's Cause with some of the Emperour's  
 Divines. The King resolved to advance  
 him to that Dignity; and sent him word  
 of it, that so he might make haste over:  
 But a Promotion so far above his Thoughts,  
 had not its common Effects on him: He  
 had a true and primitive Sense of so great  
 a Charge; and instead of aspiring to it,  
 he was afraid of it, & he both returned very  
 slowly to *England*, and used all his Endeavours,  
 to be excused from that Advancement:  
 But this declining of Preferment, being a  
 thing, of which the Clergy of that Age were  
 so little guilty, discovered, That he had  
 Maxims very far different from most Church-  
 men. Bulls were sent for to *Rome*, in order  
 to his Consecration, which the Pope granted,  
 tho it could not be very grateful to him, to  
 send them to one who had so publickly  
 disputed against his Power of dispensing;  
 all the Composition that was payed for them,  
 was, but

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900 Ducats, which was perhaps according to the Regulation, made in the Act against Annats. There were 9 several Bulls sent over, one, confirming the King's Nomination; a Second, requiring him to accept it; a Third, absolving him from Censures; a Fourth, to the Suffragan Bishops; a Fifth, to the Dean and Chapter; a Sixth, to the Clergy; a Seventh, to the Laity; an Eighth, to the Tenants of the See, requiring all these to receive him to be their Archbishop; a Ninth, requiring some Bishops to consecrate him; the Tenth gave him the Pall; and by the Eleventh, the Archbishop of *York* was required to put it on him. The putting all this in so many different Bulls, was a good Contrivance, for raising the Rents of the Apostolick Chamber. On the 30 of *March*, *Cranmer* was consecrated by the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, and *St. Asaph*. The Oath to the Pope was of hard Digestion: So he made a Protestation before he took it, that he conceived himself not bound up by it in any thing, that was contrary to his Duty to God, to his King, or Country; and he repeated this when he took it; so that if this seemed too artificial for a Man of his sincerity; yet he acted in it fairly, and above Board.

*The Convocation condemns the King's Marriage:*

The Convocation had then two Questions before them; the first was, Concerning the Lawfulness of the King's Marriage, and the Validity of the Pope's Dispensation; the other was, of Matter of Fact, Whether *P. Arthur* had consummated the Mar-

Book I. Marriage, or not. For the first, the Judgments of 19 Universities were read; and  
 1519. after a long Debate, there being 23 only in the Lower House, 14 were against the Marriage, and 7 for it, and two voted dubiously. In the upper House, *Stokesly*, Bishop of *London*, and *Fisher*, maintained the Debate long; the one for the Affirmative, and the other the Negative: At last it was carried, *Nemine contradicente*, (the few that were of the other side it seems withdrawing) against the Marriage, 216 being present. For the other, that concerned matter of Fact, it was referred to the Canonists; and they all, except five or six, reported, That the Presumptions were violent; and these in a matter not capable of plain proof, were alwayes received in Law. The smal number in the Lower, and the far greater number in the upper House of Convocation, makes it probable, that then, not only Bishops, but all Abbots, Priors, Deans, and Archdeacons, sate in the upper House, for they were all called *Prelates*, and had their Writs to sit in a General Council, as appears by the Records of the fourth Council in the *Lateran*, and the Council at *Vienna*, and so them might well sit in the upper House: And perhaps the two Houses of Convocation, were taken from the Patern of the two Houses of Parliament, and so none might sit in the lower House, but such as were chosen to represent the Inferiour Clergy. The Books of Convocation are now lost, having perished in the Fire of *London*; but the Author  
 of



of *Antiquitates Britannica*, who lived in that time, is of that great credit, that we may well depend upon his Testimony.

Book I.

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Cranmer gives the final Sentence.

The Convocation having thus judged in the matter, the Ceremoy of pronouncing the Divorce judicially, was now only wanting. The new Queen began to have big a Belly, which was a great Evidence of her living chastly before that with the King. On Easter Eve she was declared Queen of England. And soon after, Cranmer, with Gardiner (who was made upon *Wolsey's* death Bishop of *Winchester*) and the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, with many Divines and Canonists, went to *Dunstable*; Queen *Katherine* living then near it, at *Amptil*. The King and Queen were cited; he appeared by Proxy, but the Queen refused to take any notice of the Court: So after three Citations, she was declared *Contumax*, and all the Merits of the Cause formerly mentioned, were examined. At last, on the 23 of *May*, Sentence was given, declaring the Marriage to have been null from the beginning. Among the Archbishops Titles in the beginning of the Judgment, he is called, *Legate of the Apostolick See*, which perhaps was added to give it the more force in Law. Some days after this, he gave another Judgment, confirming the King's Marriage with Queen *Ann*, and on the first of *June* she was Crowned Queen: This was variously censured. It was said, that in the Intervals of a General Council, the asking the Opini-

ons

Censures  
past upon  
it.

Book I. ons of so many Universities, and Learned  
 1533. Men, was the only sure way to find out  
 the Tradition of the Church : And a Provincial Council had sufficient Authority to judge in this Case : Yet many thought, the Sentence dissolving the first Marriage, should have preceded the second : And it being contracted, before the first was Legally annulled, there was great colour given to question the Validity of it. But it was answered, That since the first was judged null of it self, there was no need of a Sentence Declaratory, but only for form : Yet it was thought, either there ought to have been no Sentence past at all, or it should have been before the second Marriage. Some objected, That *Cranmer* having appeared so much against the Marriage, was no competent Judge ; but it was said, that as Popes are not bound by the Opinions they held when they were private Men ; so he having changed his Character, could not be challenged on that account, but might give Sentence, as Judges decide Causes, in which they formerly gave Counsel : And indeed, the Convocation had judged the Cause, he only gave Sentence in form of Law. The World wondered at the Pope's Stiffness ; but he often confessed, he understood not those matters, only he was afraid of provoking the Emperour ; or of giving the *Lutherans* advantage to say, that one Pope condemned that, with which another had dispensed. All People admired *Q. Ann's* conduct,

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duſt, who in a courſe of ſo many Years managed a King's Spirit, that was ſo violent, in ſuch a manner, as neither to ſurfeit him with too many Favours, nor to provoke him with too much Rigour; and her being ſo ſoon with Child, gave hopes of a numerous Iſſue: They that loved the Reformation, lookt for better dayes under her Protection; but many Priests, and Friars, both in Sermons and Diſcourſes, condemned the King's Proceedings. The King ſent Ambaſſadours to all Courts, to juſtify what he had done: He ſent alſo ſome to Queen *Katherine*, to charge her to aſſume no other Title, but that of Princeſs Dowager; and to give her hopes of putting her Daughter next in the Succeſſion to the Crown, after his Iſſue by the preſent Queen, if ſhe would ſubmit herſelf to his Will, but ſhe would not yield; ſhe ſaid, ſhe would not take that Infamy on her ſelf; and ſo reſolved, that none ſhould ſerve about her, that did not treat her as Queen. All her Servants adhered ſo to her Intereſt, that no Threatnings nor Promiſes, could work on them: And the ſtir which the King kept in this matter, was thought below his Greatneſs, and ſeemed to be ſet on by a Woman's Reſentments; for ſince ſhe was deprived of the Majeſty of a Crown, the Pageantry of a Title was not worth the noiſe that was made about it. The Emperour ſeemed big with Reſentments. The French King was colder then the King expected; yet

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Book I.

1533.

The pro-  
ceedings at  
Rome  
upon it.

he promised to intercede with the Pope, and the Cardinals, on his account: But he was now so entirely gained by the Pope, That he resolved not to involve himself in the King's Quarrel, as a Party: And he also gave over the Designs he once had of setting up a Patriarch in *France*; for the Pope granted him so great a Power over his own Clergy, that he could not desire more. With this the Emperour was not a little pleased; for this was like to separate those two Kings, whose Conjunction had been so hurtful to him.

At *Rome* the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction, complained much of the Attempt made on the Pope's Power; since a Sentence was given in *England* in a Process depending at *Rome*; so they prest the Pope to proceed to Censures. But instead of putting the matter past reconciling, there was only Sentence given, annulling all that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had done; and the King was required under the pain of Excommunication, to put things again in the state in which they were formerly; and this was affixed at *Dunkirk*. The King sent a great Embally to *Francis*, who was then setting out to *Marseilles*, where the Pope was to meet him: Their Errand was to dissuade him from the Journey, unless the Pope would promise to give the King Satisfaction: The King of *France* said, he was engaged in Honour to go on; but assured them, he would mind the King's Concerns, with as much Zeal, as if they were his own.

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In September the Queen brought forth a Daughter, the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*; and the King having before declared Lady *Mary* Princess of *Wales*, did now the same for her: Tho since a Son might put her from it, she could not be *Heir Apparent*, but only the *Heir Presumptive* to the Crown. At *Marseilles*, the Marriage was made up between the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Pope's Niece; to whom the Pope gave, besides 100000 Crowns, many Principalities, which he pretended were either Fiefs of the Papacy, or belonged to him in the Rights of the House of *Medici*. The Pope's Historian with some Triumph, boasted, that the Marriage was Consummated that very Night; tho it was thought not credible, that *P. Arthur*, that was Nine Months older than the new Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards *Henry* the Second, did Consummate his.

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Sent 7. Q. Elizabeth born.

There was a secret Agreement made between the Pope and *Francis*, that if King *Henry* would refer his Cause to the Consistory, excepting only to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his Obedience to the See of *Rome*, then Sentence should be given in his Favour; but this to be kept secret: So *Bonner* not being trusted with it, and sent thither with an Appeal from the Pope to the next General Council, made it with great boldness, and threatened the Pope upon it, with so much Vehemence, that the Pope talked of throw-

The Pope promises to satisfy Henry.

Book I. ing him into a Cauldron of melted Lead,  
 or burning him alive : And he apprehend-  
 1533. ing some danger fled away privately. But  
 when *Francis* came back to *Paris*, he sent  
 over the Bishop of that City, to the King,  
 to let him know what he had obtained  
 of the Pope in his Favours, and the Terms  
 on which it was promised : This wrought  
 so much on the King, that he presently  
 consented to them. And upon that, the  
 Bishop of *Paris*, tho it was now in the middle  
 of Winter, took Journey to *Rome* ; being  
 sure of the Scarlet, if he could be the In-  
 strument of regaining *England*, which was  
 then upon the point of being lost : What  
 these Assurances were which the Pope  
 gave, is not certain ; but the Archbi-  
 shop of *York*, and *Tenstal* of *Duresm*, in a  
 Letter which they wrote on that Occasion,  
 say, that the Pope said at *Marseilles*, That  
 if the King would send a Proxy to *Rome*, he  
 would give Sentence for him against the Queen,  
 for he knew his Cause was good and just. Upon  
 the Bishop of *Paris*'s coming to *Rome*, the  
 matter seemed agreed ; for it was promi-  
 sed, that upon the King's sending a Pro-  
 mise under his hand, to put things in their  
 former state ; and his ordering a Proxy  
 to appear for him, Judges should be sent  
 to *Cambray* for making the Process, and  
 then Sentence should be given. Upon the  
 notice given of this, and of a Day that was  
 prefixt for the return of the Courier, the  
 King dispatched him with all possible hast ;  
 and now the Business seemed at an end. But  
 \* the

the Courier had a Sea and the *Alps* to pass, and in Winter it was not easy to observe a limited day so exactly: This made that he came not to *Rome* on the prefixed day; upon which, the Imperialists gave out, that the King was abusing the Pope's Easiness; so they prest him vehemently to proceed to a Sentence: The Bishop of *Paris* moved only for a delay of six days, which was no unreasonable time in that Season, and in favours of such a King, who had a Suit depending six Days, and since he had Patience so many Years; the delay of a few days was no extraordinary Favour. But the design of the Imperialists was, to hinder a Reconciliation: for if the King had been set right with the Pope, there would have been so powerful a League formed against the Emperour, as would have broke all his Measures: And therefore it was necessary for his Designs to imbroider them. It was also said, That the King was seeking Delayes, and Concessions, meerly to delude the Pope; and that he had proceeded so far in his Design against that See, that it was necessary to go on to Censures: And the angry Pope was so provoked by them, and by the News that he heard out of *England*, that without consulting his ordinary Prudence, he brought in the matter to the Consistory; and there the Imperialists being the greater number, it was driven on with so much Precipitation, that they did in one day that, which according to Form, should have been done in three.

Book I. They gave the final Sentence, declaring, the King's Marriage with Queen *Katherine* 1533. good; and required him to live with her 23. March, as his Wife, otherwise they would proceed to Censures. Two days after that, the Courier came with the King's Submission, in due form: He also brought earnest Letters from *Francis*, in the King's Favours. This wrought on all the indifferent Cardinals, as well as those of the French Faction. So they praied the Pope to recall what was done. A new Consistory was called, but the Imperialists pressed with greater Vehemence then ever, that they would not give such Scandal to the World, as to recall a definitive Sentence past, of the validity of a Marriage; and give the Hereticks such Advantages by their unsteadiness in matters of that nature: And so it was carried, that the former Sentence should take place; and the Execution of it was committed to the Emperour. When this was known in *England*, it determined the King in his Resolutions, of shaking off the Pope's Yoke, in which he had made so great a Progress, that the Parliament had past all the Acts concerning it, before he had the News from *Rome*: For he judged, that the best way to Peace was, to let them at *Rome* see, with what vigour he could make War. All the rest of the World lookt on astonished, to see the Court of *Rome* throw off *England* with so much scorn, as if they had been weary of the Obedience and Profits of it.

But proceeds hastily to a Sentence.

great



great a Kingdom, and their Proceedings look'd as if they had been secretly directed by a Divine Providence, that designed to draw great Consequences from this Rupture, and did so far infatuate those that were most concerned to prevent it, that they needlessly drew it on themselves.

In *England* they had been now examining the Foundations on which the Papal Authority was built, with extraordinary Care for some Years; and several Books being then and soon after written on that Subject, the Reader will be able to see better into the Reasons of their Proceedings by a short Abstract of these.

All the Apostles were made equal in the Powers that Christ gave them, and he often condemned their Contests about Superiority, but never declared in *St. Peter's* Favour. *St. Paul* withstood him to his Face, and reckoned himself not inferour to him. If the Dignity of a Person left any Authority with the City in which he sat; then *Antioch* must carry it as well as *Rome*: and *Jerusalem*, where Christ suffered was to be preferred to all the World, for it was truly the Mother-Church. Christ said to *Peter*, *Upon this Rock will I build my Church*. The Ancients understood by the *Rock*, either the Confession *Peter* had made, or, which is all one upon the matter, Christ himself; and tho it were to be meant of *St. Peter*, all the rest of the Apostles are also called *Foundations*; that of, *Tell the Church*, was by many Doctors of the Church of *Rome* turned a-

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1533.

The reasons used for rejecting the Pope's Power.

Book I. gainst the Pope for a General Council.  
 1533. The other Priviledges ascribed to *St. Peter*, were either only a precedence of Order, or were occasioned by his Fall, as that, *Feed my Sheep*, it being a restoring him to the Apostolical Function. *St. Peter* had also a limited Province, the Circumcision, as *St. Paul* had the Uncircumcision, that was of far greater extent; which shewed that he was not considered as the Universal Pastor. In the Primitive Church, *St. Cyprian*, and other Bishops, wrote to the Bishops of *Rome*, as to their fellow Bishop, Colleague and Brother: they were against Appeals to *Rome*, and did not submit to their Definition, and in plain Terms asserted, that all Bishops were equal in Power as the Apostles had been. It is true, the Dignity of the City made the Bishops of *Rome* to be much esteemed; yet in the first Council of *Nice*, the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, were declared to have the same Authority in the Countries about them, that the Bishops of *Rome*, had over those that lay about them. It is true, the East being over-run with *Arrianism*, from which the West was better preserved, the oppressed Eastern Bishops did take shelter in the Protection the Bishops of *Rome* gave them; and, as is natural to all People, they magnified that Authority which was so useful to them. But the second General Council indirectly condemned all Appeals to *Rome*: for it decreed that every Province should be governed by its own Synod, and

and allowed no higher Appeal but to the **Book I.**  
Bishops of the Diocess. *Constantinople* be-  
ing made the Imperial City, the second **1533.**  
and fourth General Council gave it equal  
Priviledges with *Rome*, because it was *new*  
*Rome* : which shews that the Dignity of the  
Sees flowed from the greatness of the Cities.  
The *African* Churches condemned all Ap-  
peals to *Rome*, and the Popes, who complain-  
ed of that, pretended only to a Canon of  
the Council of *Nice* for it; and then they did  
not talk of a Divine Right; but search being  
made into all the Copies of the Canons of  
the Council, that was found to be a For-  
gery. When the Emperour *Mauricius* gave  
the Title, *Universal Bishop*, to the Patriarch  
of *Constantinople*; *Gregory* the Great com-  
plained of the Ambition of that Title,  
which he calls equal to the Pride of *Lucifer*;  
and since *England* received the Faith by  
those whom he sent over, it appeared from  
thence what was the Doctrine of that See  
at that time, and by consequence, what  
where the first Impressions made on the  
*English* in that matter. It is true *Boniface*  
the third got the same Title by *Phocas's*  
Grant, and *Boniface* the eighth pretended  
to all Power both spiritual and temporal;  
but the Progress of their Usurpations, and  
the Wars raised to maintain them, were  
very visible in History. The Popes swore  
at their Consecrations to obey the Canons  
of the eighth first General Councils, which  
are manifested against Appeals and their  
Universal Jurisdiction; small regard is to  
be

Book I. be had to the Decrees of latter Councils, being Cabals pack'd and managed as the Popes pleased. Several Sees, as *Ravenna*, *Milan*, and *Aquileia* pretended Exemption from the Papal Authority. Many English Bishops had asserted that the Popes had no Authority against the Canons, and to that day no Canon the Popes made was binding till it was received; which shewed the Pope's Authority was not believed founded on a divine Authority: and the Contests that the Kings of *England* had with the Pope's concerning Investitures, Bishops doing the King Homage, Appeals to *Rome*, and the Authority of Papal Bulls and Provisions, shewed that the Pope's Power was believed subject to Laws and Custom, and so not derived from Christ and *St. Peter*; and as Laws had given them some Power, and Princes had bin forced in ignorant Ages to submit to their Usurpations, so they might as they saw cause change those Laws, and resume their Rights.

And for  
the King's  
Supremacy

1 Chron.  
28. 21.

2 Chron:  
8. 14, 15.

The next Point inquired into was, the Authority that Kings had in matters of Religion and the Church. The King of *Israel* judged in all Causes, and *Samuel* called *Saul* the Head of the Tribes. *David* made many Rules about the Service at the Temple, and declaring to *Solomon* what his Power was, he told him that the Priests were wholly at his Command; and it is also said, that *Solomon* appointed the Priests their Charges in the Service of God, and that they departed not from his Commandment in any matter; he turned out one High-Priest, and put another in



in his room. *Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josias*, made also Laws about Ecclesiastical Matters. In the New Testament, Christ was himself subject to the Civil Powers, and charged his Disciples not to affect Temporal Dominion. They also wrote to the Churches to be subject to the Higher Powers, and call them *Supream*, and charge every Soul to be subject to them: so in Scripture the King is called *Head and Supream*, and every Soul is said to be under him, which joyn'd together, makes up this Conclusion, that *He is the supream Head over all Persons*. In the Primitive Church the Bishops only made Rules or Canons, but pretended to no compulsive Authority, but what came from the Civil Magistrate. The Roman Emperours called Councils, presided in them, and confirmed them; and made many Laws concerning Ecclesiastical Matters; so did also *Charles the Great*. The Emperours did also either chuse the Popes themselves, or confirm their Elections. Church-men taking Orders, were not thereby discharged from the Obedience they formerly owed their Princes, but remained still Subjects. And tho the Offices of the Church had peculiar Functions, in which the People were subject to them, that did not deliver them from their Obedience to the King, as a Father's Authority over his Children cuts not off the King's Power over him. They found also that in all times the Kings of *England* had assumed an Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters. *Ina, Alfred, Edgar,*  
and

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1533.

Book I. and *Canetus*, had made many Laws about them; ſo had alſo moſt of the Kings ſince 1533. the Conqueſt, which appeared particularly in the Articles of *Clarendon*, and the Conteſts that followed upon them; and from the daies of King *Ina*, they had granted Exemptions to Monaſteries from the Epiſcopal Jurisdiction, down to *William* the Conquerors time: beſides many other Acts that clearly imported a Supremacy over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes. But they did at the ſame time ſo explain and limit this Power, that it was viſible they did not intend to ſubject Religion wholly to the Pleaſure of the King; for it was declared that his Power was only a Coercive Authority, to defend the true Religion, to abolish Hereſies and Idolatries, to cauſe Biſhops and Paſtors to do their Duties, and in caſe they were negligent, or would not amend their Faults, to put others in their room. Upon the whole matter, they concluded that the Pope had no Power in *England*, and that the King had an intire Dominion over all his Subjects, which did extend even to the regulating of Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

The Cler-  
gy ſubmit-  
ted to it.

Theſe things being fully opened in many Diſputes, and publiſhed in ſeveral Books, all the Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors of *England*, *Fisher* only excepted, were ſo far ſatiſfied with them, or ſo much in love with their Preferments, that they reſolved to comply with the Changes which the King was reſolved to make. *Fisher* was in great eſteem for Piety and ſtriſtneſs of Life, and ſo much

much pains was taken on him. A little before the Parliament met, *Cranmer* proposed to him, that he, and any five Doctors he would choose, and *Stokesly* with five on his side, should confer on that point, and examine the Authorities that were on both sides; he accepted of it, and *Stokesly* wrote to him to name time and place, but *Fisher's* Sickness hindered the Progress of that motion.

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The Parliament met the 15th of January, *A Session* there were but seven Bishops and twelve *of Parliam.* Abbots present, the rest it seems were unwilling to concur in making this change, tho they complied with it when it was made. Every Sunday during the Session, a Bishop preached at St. Paul's, and declared that the Pope had no Authority in *England*: Before this, they had only said that a General Council was above him, and that the Exactions of that Court, and Appeals to it, were unlawful; but now they went a strain higher, to prepare the People for receiving the Acts then in Agitation. On the 9th of March, the Commons began the Bill for taking away the Pope's Power, and sent it to the Lords on the 14th, who past it on the 20th without any dissent. In it they set forth the Exactions of 'the Court of *Rome*, grounded on the 'Pope's Power of dispensing; and that as 'none could dispense with the Laws of 'God; so the King and Parliament only 'had the Authority of dispensing with the 'Laws of the Land; and that therefore 'such Licenses or Dispensations as were 'former-

*The Pope's  
Power taken  
away.*

## Book I.

1533.

‘ formerly in use, should be for the future  
 ‘ granted by the two Arch-bishops, some  
 ‘ of these were to be confirmed under the  
 ‘ Great Seal; and they appointed that there-  
 ‘ after all Commerce with *Rome* should  
 ‘ cease. They also declared that they did  
 ‘ not intend to alter any Article of the Ca-  
 ‘ tholick Faith of Christendome, or of that  
 ‘ which was declared in the Scripture neces-  
 ‘ sary to Salvation. They confirmed all the  
 ‘ Exemptions granted to Monasteries by the  
 ‘ Popes, but subjected them to the King’s  
 ‘ Visitation; and gave the King and his  
 ‘ Council power to examine and reform all  
 ‘ Indulgences and Priviledges granted by  
 ‘ the Pope: The Offenders against this  
 ‘ Law were to be punished according to  
 ‘ the Statutes of *Premunire*. This Act sub-  
 ‘ jected the Monasteries entirely to the King’s  
 ‘ Authority and put them in no small Confu-  
 ‘ sion. Those that loved the Reformation,  
 ‘ rejoyced both to see the Pope’s Power  
 ‘ rooted out, and to find the Scripture made  
 ‘ the Standard of Religion.

The Act  
 of the Suc-  
 cession.

After this Act, another pass in both  
 Houses in six Days time, without any Op-  
 position, ‘ Settling the Succession of the  
 ‘ Crown; confirming the Sentence of Di-  
 ‘ vorce, and the King’s Marriage with  
 ‘ Queen *Anne*, and declaring all Marriages  
 ‘ within the Degrees prohibited by *Moses*,  
 ‘ to be unlawful: All that had married  
 ‘ within them were appointed to be divor-  
 ‘ ced, and their Issue illegitimated; and  
 ‘ the Succession to the Crown was settled  
 ‘ upon



upon the King's Issue, by the present Queen, or in default of that, to the King's right Heirs, for ever. All were required to swear, to maintain the Contents of this Act; and if any refused to swear to it, or should say any thing to the Slander of the King's Marriage, he was to be judged guilty of misprision of Treason, and to be punished accordingly. The Oath is also set down in the Journals of the House of Lords; by which, they did not only swear Obedience to the King, and his Heirs, by his present Marriage; but also to defend the Act of Succession, and all the Effects and Contents in it, against all manner of Persons whatsoever; by which they were bound to maintain the Divorce, both against the Pope's Censures, and the Emperour, if he went about to execute them.

At this time, one Philips complained to the House of Commons of the Bishop of London, for using him cruelly in Prison, upon Suspicion of Heresy; the Commons sent up this to the Lords, but received no Answer: So they sent some of their Members to the Bishop, desiring him to answer the Complaints put in against him: But he acquainted the House of Lords with it; and they all with one consent voted, that none of their House ought to appear, or answer to any Complaint at the Bar of the House of Commons. So the Commons let this particular Case fall, and sent up a Bill to which the Lords agreed, regulating the

*An Act  
regulating  
the pro-  
ceedings a-  
gainst He-  
reticks.*

Book I. the Proceedings against Hereticks, ' That  
 ~~~~~ ' whereas, by the Statute made by King  
 1533. ' *Henry* the Fourth, Bishops might commit  
 ' Men upon Suspicion of *Heresy*; and He-  
 ' resy was generally defined, to be what-  
 ' ever was contrary to the Scriptures, or  
 ' *Canonical Sanctions*, which was liable to  
 ' great Ambiguity; therefore that Sta-  
 ' tute was repealed, and none were to be  
 ' committed for Heresy, but upon a Pre-  
 ' sentment made by two Witnesses: None  
 ' were to be accused for speaking against  
 ' things that were grounded only upon the  
 ' Pope's Canons. Bail was to be taken for  
 ' Hereticks, and they were to be brought to  
 ' their Trials in open Court; and if upon  
 ' Conviction, they did not abjure, or  
 ' were Relapses, they were to be burnt;  
 ' the King's Writ being first obtained.  
 This was a great check to the Bishop's Tyr-  
 rany, and gave no small comfort to all that  
 favoured the Reformation.

*The Sub-  
 mission of  
 the Clergy.* The Convocation sent in a Submission at  
 the same time, by which they acknowledged,  
 That all Convocations ought to be  
 assembled by the King's Writ; and pro-  
 mised upon the *Word of Priests*, never to  
 make, nor execute any Canons, without  
 the King's Assent. They also desired,  
 That since many of the received Canons  
 were found to be contrary to the King's  
 Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land,  
 there might be a Committee named by the  
 King, of 32, the one half out of both  
 Houses of Parliament, and the other of the  
 Clergy,

1534.

Clergy, empowered to abrogate or regulate them, as they should see Cause. This was confirmed in Parliament, and the Act against Appeals to *Rome* was renewed; and an Appeal was allowed from the Archbishop to the King, upon which the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commission for a Court of Delegates. A Proviso was added, that till the Committee of 32 should settle a Regulation of the Canons, those then in force should still take place, except such as were contrary to the King's Prerogative, or the Laws. But this last Proviso, tho it seemed reasonable, to give the Spiritual Courts some Rules, till the 32 should finish their Work, made, that it came to nothing; for it was thought more for the Greatness of the King's Authority; and it subjected the Bishop's Courts more to the Prohibitions of the Temporal Courts, to keep this whole matter in such General Terms, than to have brought it to a Regulation that should be fixed and constant.

' Another Act past, for regulating the Elections and Consecrations of Bishops; condemning all Bulls from Rome; and appointing that upon a Vacancy, the King should grant a Licence for an Election; and should by a missive Letter signify the Person's Name whom he would have chosen: And within twelve Days after these were delivered, the Dean and Chapter, or Prior and Convent, were required to return an Election of the Person named by the King, under their Seals.

An Act for  
the Electi-  
on of Bi-  
shops.

Book I. 'Seals. The Bishop Elect was upon that  
 ~~~~~ 'to swear Fealty; and a Writ was to be  
 1534. 'issued out for his Consecration in the  
 'usual manner: After that, he was to do  
 'Homage to the King, upon which, both  
 'the Temporalities, and Spiritualities, were  
 'to be restored; and Bishops were to  
 'exercise their Jurisdiction as they had  
 'done before. All that transgressed this  
 'Act, were made guilty of a premu-  
 'nure.

A private Act past, depriving Cardinal  
*Campegio*, and *Jerome de Ghinucci* of the  
 Bishopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*; the  
 Reasons given for it are, because they did  
 not reside in their Diocesses, for Preaching  
 the Laws of God, and keeping Hospitali-  
 ty, but lived at the Court of *Rome*, and  
 carried 3000 *l.* a Year out of the King-  
 dom.

*The At-  
 tainder of  
 the Nun  
 of Kent.*

The last Act of a publick Nature, tho  
 relating only to private Persons, of which  
 I shall give an account, was, concerning  
 the Nun of *Kent*, and her Complices: It  
 was the first occasion of shedding any Blood  
 in this Quarrel, and it was much cherish-  
 ed by all the Superstitious Clergy, that  
 adhered to the Queen's Interests, and the  
 Pope's. The Nun, and many of her Com-  
 plices, came to the Lord's Bar, and con-  
 fessed the whole matter. Among the Con-  
 cealers of this Treason, Sir *Thomas More*,  
 and *Fisher*, were named; the former wrote  
 upon that a long Letter to *Cromwel*, giving  
 him a particular account of all the Conver-  
 sation



sation he had at any time with the Nun : He acknowledged he had esteemed her highly, not so much out of any regard he had to her Prophecies, but for the Opinion he conceived of her Holiness and Humility. But he adds, that he was then convinced, *That she was the most false dissembling Hypocrite that had been known; and guilty of most detestable Hypocrisy, and drivellish dissembled Falshood: He also believed that she had Communication with an evil Spirit.* Concerning this Letter, a curious Discovery has been made. In Queen *Mary's* time, *More's* Works were published; and among them, other Letters of his to *Cromwel*, relating to that long one which he wrote concerning the Nun, were printed; but that was left out, of which *More* kept a Copy, and gave it to his Daughter *Roper*; that Copy was in the MS. out of which the rest were published, and out of that I have transcribed it. The design of suppressing it, seems to be this: It is probable, there might have been some thoughts in Queen *Mary's* time, to Canonize the Nun, since she was called a Martyr for her Mother's Marriage; and there was no want of Miracles to justify it: Therefore, a Letter so plain and full against her, was thought fit to be kept out of the way. This Justification of *Mores*, prevailed so far, that his Name was struck out of the Bill. The Act contains a Narrative of that whole Story, which is in short, this;

*Elizabeth Barton* of *Kent*, fell in some

Book I. Trances, ( it seems they were Hysterical Fits) and spake such things as made those about her think she was inspired of God. The Parson of the Parish, *Master*, hoping to draw Advantages from this, gave Archbishop *Warham* notice of it, who ordered him to observe her carefully, and bring him an account of what should follow. But she had forgot all that she said in her Fitts, when they were over : Yet the Priest would not let it go so, but perswaded her that she was inspired, and taught her so to counterfeit those Trances, that she became very ready at it. The matter was much noised about; and the Priest intended to raise the credit of an Image of the B. Virgins that was in his Church, that so Pilgrimages and Offerings might be made to it, by her means. He associated to himself one *Bocking*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, and they taught her to say in her Fits, that the B. *Virgin* appeared to her, and told her, she could not be well till she visited that Image. She spake many good Words against ill Life, and spake also against *Herefy*, and the King's Suit of Divorce then depending; and by many strange motions of her Body, she seemed to be inwardly possessed. A day was set for her cure; and before an Assembly of 2000 People, she was carried to that Image; and after she had acted her Fitts all over, she seemed of a sudden quite recovered, which was ascribed to the Intercession of the Virgin, and the Virtue of that Image. She entered into a Religious Life; and

and *Bocking* was her Ghostly Father. There were violent Suspicions of Incontinence between them; but the esteem she was in, bore them down. Many thought her a Prophetess; and *Warham* among the rest. A Book was also written of her Revelations, and a Letter was shewed all in Letters of Gold; pretended to be writ to her from Heaven, by *Mary Magdalene*. She pretended, that when the King was last at *Calais*, she was carried invisibly beyond Sea, and brought back again; and that an Angel gave her the Sacrament; and that God revealed to her, that if the King went on in his Divorce, and married another Wife, he should fall from his Crown, and not live a Month longer, *but should die a Villain's Death.*

Book I.

1534.

Many of the Monks of the Charter-House, and the Observant Friars, with many Nuns, and *B. Fisher*, came to give credit to this, and set a great value on her, and grew very insolent upon it; for Frier *Peyto* preaching in the King's Chappel, at *Greenwich*, denounced the Judgments of God upon him; and said, tho others as lying Prophets deceived him, yet he in the name of God told him, that *Dogs should lick his Blood as they had done Ahabs*. The King bore this patiently; but ordered one Dr. *Corren* to preach next Sunday, and to answer all that he had said, who railed against *Peyto*, as a Dog and a Traitor. *Peyto* had gone to *Canterbury*, but *Elston*, a Franciscan of the same House, interrupted him

Book I. him, and called him one of the lying Prophets, that went about to establish the Succession of the Crown by Adultery; and spoke with such Vehemence, that the King himself was forced to command him silence. And yet so unwilling was the King to go to Extremities, that all that was done upon so high a Provocation, was, that they were called before the Council, and rebuked for their Insolence. But the Nun's Confederates publishing her Revelations in all the parts of the Kingdom, she and Nine of her Complices were apprehended in *November* last Year; and they did all without any Rack or Torture, discover the whole Conspiracy, and upon that, were appointed to go to *St. Pauls*; and after a Sermon preached upon that Occasion, by the Bishop of *Bangor*, they repeated their Confession, in the Hearing of the People; and were sent to ly Prisoners in the Tower. But it was given out, That all was extorted from them by Violence; and Messages were sent to the *Nun*, desiring her, to deny all that she had confessed; which made the King judge it necessary to proceed to further Extremities. So she, and six of her chief Complices, were Attainted of Treason: And the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and five more, were Attainted of Misprision of Treason. But at the Intercession of *Q. Ann*, (as it is exprest in the Act) all others that had been concerned with her, were pardoned.

This was as black an Imposture as any  
ever



ever was; and if it had fallen out in a darker Age, in which the World went mad after Visions, the King might have lost his Crown by it. The Discovery of this, disposed all to look on older Stories of the Trances of Monastical People, as Contrivances to serve base ends, and did make way for the ruine of that Order of Men in *England*; but all that was at present done upon it, was, that the Observants were put out of their Houses, and mixt with the other *Franciscans*, and the *Austin* Friars were put in their rooms. When all these Acts were passed, the King gave his Assent to them on the 29th of *March*, and prorogued the Parliament till *November*.

The Members of both Houses swore to the Oath of Succession on the day of the Prorogation. On the 20th of *April*, followed the Execution of the *Nun* and her Complices at Tyburn, where she freely acknowledged her Impostures, and the Justice of the Sentence, and laid the blame on those that suffered with her; who because the thing was profitable to them, praised her much, and tho they knew that all was feigned, yet gave out that it was done by the working of the Holy Ghost; and she concluded her Life, begging both God's and the King's Pardon. Upon the first Discovery of this Cheat, *Cromwell* sent *Fisher's* Brother to him to reprove him for his Carriage in that Business, and to advise him to ask the King's Pardon for the Encouragement he had given to the *Nun*, which he was confi-

The Oath  
of Succession  
sworn.

Fisher is  
some Trou-  
ble.

Book I. dent the King would grant him. But *Fisher*  
 1534. excused himself, and said, he had done nothing but only tried whether her Revelations were true or not? He confessed that upon the Reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high Opinion of her; and that he had never discovered any Falshood in her. It is true, she had said some things to him concerning the King's Death, which he had not revealed, but he thought it was not necessary to do it; because he knew she had told it to the King her self; she had named no Person, that should kill the King, but had only denounced it as a Judgment of God on him; and he had reason to think that the King would have been offended with him if he had spoken of it to him; and so he desired to be no more troubled with that matter. But upon that, *Cromwell* wrote him a sharp Letter; he shewed him that he had proceeded rashly in that Affair; being so partial in the matter of the King's Divorce, that he easily believed every thing that seemed to make against it; he shewed him how necessary it was to use great Caution before extraordinary things should be received, or spread about as Revelations; since otherwise the Peace of the World should be in the hands of every bold or crafty Impostor; yet in conclusion, he advises him again to ask the King's Pardon for his Rashness, and he assures him that the King was ready to forgive that, and every thing else, by which he had offended him. But *Fisher* was

was obstinate and would make no Submission, and so included within the Act; yet it was not executed till a new Provocation drew him into further Trouble. The Secular and Regular Clergy did every where swear the Oath of Succession; which none did more zealously promote than *Gardiner*; who before the 6th of May got all his Clergy to swear it: and the Religious Orders being apprehensive of the King's Jealousies of them, took care to remove them, by sending in Declarations under the Seals of their Houses, that in their Opinion the King's present Marriage was lawful, and that they would always acknowledg him *Head of the Church of England*; that the Bishops of *Rome* had no Authority out of his own Diocess, and that they would continue obedient to the King, notwithstanding his Censures; that they would preach the Gospel sincerely according to the Scriptures, and the Tradition of the Catholick Doctors, and would in their Prayers pray for the King as Supream Head of the Church of *England*.

Book I.

1534:

And is very obstinate.

A meeting of the Council-state at *Lambeth*, to which many were cited in order to the swearing the Oath; among whom was *Sir Thomas More* and *Fisher*. *More* was first called on to take it: he answered that he neither blamed those that made the Acts, nor those that swore the Oath, and that he was willing to swear to maintain the Succession to the Crown, but could not take the Oath as it was conceived. *Fisher* made

More and he refuse the Oath.

Book I. made the same Answer, but all the rest that were cited before them, took it. *More* was much press'd to give his Reasons against it; but he refused to do that, for it might be called a disputing against Law: yet he would put them into Writing if the King would command him to do it. *Cranmer* said, if he did not blame those that took it, it seems he was not perswaded it was a Sin, and so was only doubtful of it; but he was sure he ought to obey the Law, if it was not sinful; so there was a Certainty on the one hand, and only a Doubt on the other; and therefore the former ought to determine him: this he confessed did shake him a little, but he said, he thought in his Conscience, that it would be a Sin in him, and offered to take his Oath upon that, and that he was not led by any other Consideration. The Abbot of *Westminster* told him he ought to think his Conscience was misled, since the Parliament was of another Mind; an Argument well becoming a rich ignorant Abbot. But *More* said, if the Parliament of *England* was against him, yet he believed all the rest of Christendom was on his side: In conclusion, both he and *Fisher* declared that they thought it was in the Power of the Parliament to settle the Succession to the Crown, and so were ready to swear to that, but they could not take the Oath that was tendred to them; for by it they must swear to maintain all the Contents in the Act of Succession, and in it the King's former Marriage was declared unlawful; to which they



they could not assent. *Cranmer* press'd Book I,  
that this might be accepted: for if they  
once swore to maintain the Succession, it  
would conduce much to the Quiet of the  
Nation; but sharper Counsels were more  
acceptable: so they were both committed  
to the *Tower*, and Pen, Ink, and Paper was  
kept from them. The old Bishop was also  
hardly used both in his Cloaths and Diet;  
he had only Rags to cover him and  
Fire was often denied him, which was a  
Cruelty not capable of any Excuse, and  
was as barbarous as it was imprudent.

1534.

In Winter another Session of Parliament  
was held; the first Act that pass'd, declar'd  
the King to be the *Supream Head on*  
*Earth of the Church of England*, and ap-  
pointed that to be added to his other Ti-  
tles; and it was enacted, that he and his Suc-  
cessors should have full Authority to reform  
all Heresies and Abuses in the Spiritual Ju-  
risdiction. By an other Act they confirmed  
the Oath of Succession, which had not been  
specified in the former Act, tho agreed to  
by the Lords. They also gave the King  
the first Fruits and Tenths of Ecclesiastical  
Benefices, as being the Supream Head of  
the Church; for the King being put in the  
Pope's room, it was thought reasonable  
to give him the Annats, which the Popes  
had formerly exacted. The Temporalty  
were now willing to revenge themselves  
on the Spirituality, and to tax them as hea-  
vily as they had formerly tyrannized over  
them. Another Act past declaring some  
things

*Another  
Session of  
Parlia-  
ment.*

**Book I** things Treason; one of these was the denying the King any of his Titles, or the calling him Heretick, Schismatick, or Usurper of the Crown. By another Act, Provision was made for setting up 26 Suffragan Bishops over *England*, for the more speedy Administration of the Sacraments, and the better Service of God : It is also said, they had been formerly accustomed to be in the Kingdom : The Bishop of the Diocese was to present two to the King, and upon the King's declaring his choice, the Archbishop was to consecrate the Person, and then the Bishop was to delegate such parts of his Charge to his Care as he thought fitting, which was to last during his Pleasure. These were the same that the Ancients called the *Chorepiscopi*, who were at first the Bishops of some Villages ; but were afterwards put under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the next City. They were set up before the Council of *Nice*, and continued to be in the Church for many Ages ; but the Bishops devolving their whole Spiritual Power to them, they were put down, and a Decretal Epistle was forged in the name of *P. Damasus*, condemning them. The great Extent of the Diocesses in *England* made it hard for one Bishop to govern them with that Exactness that was necessary ; these were therefore appointed to assist them in the discharge of the Pastoral Care.

In this Parliament Subsidies were granted payable in three Years, with the highest Preamble of their Happiness under the King's

King's Government all those 24 Years, in which he had reigned, that Flattery could dictate. *Fisher* and *More* by two special Acts were attainted of Misprision of Treason; five other Clerks were in like manner condemned, all for refusing to swear the Oath of Succession. The See of *Rochester* was declared void; yet it seems few were willing to succeed such a Man, for it continued vacant two Years. This Severity against them was censured by some as Extream, since they were willing to swear to the Succession in other Terms, so that it was merely a point of Conscience, in which the common Safety was not concerned, at which they stuck, and it was thought the prosecuting them in this manner would so raise their Credit, that it might endanger the Government more than any Opposition which they could make.

But now that the King entered upon a new Scene, it will be necessary to open the Progress that the new Opinions had made in *England* all the time of the King's Suit of Divorce. During *Wolfsey's* Ministry, those Preachers were gently used; and it is probable the King ordered the Bishops to give over their enquiring after them, when the Pope began to use him ill; for the Progress of Heresy was always reckoned up at *Rome* among the Mischiefs that would follow upon the Pope's denying the King's Desires. But *More* coming into Favour, he offered new Counsels; he thought the King's proceeding severely against Heretics

*The Progress the New Doctrines made in England.*

Book I. ticks would be so meritorious at *Rome*, that  
 it would work more effectually, than all  
 his Threatnings had done: so a severe  
 Proclamation was issued out both against  
 their Books and Persons, ordering all the  
 Laws against them to be put in Execution.  
*Tindall* and some others at *Antwerp*, were  
 every Year either translating or writing  
 Books against some of the received Errors,  
 and sending them over to *England*. But  
 his Translation of the New Testament gave  
 the greatest Wound; and was much complain-  
 ed of by the Clergy, as full of Errors. *Ton-*  
*stall* then Bp of *London* being a Man of great  
 Learning and Vertue, which is generally  
 accompanied with much Moderation, re-  
 turning from the Treaty of *Cambray*, to  
 which *More* and he were sent in the King's  
 Name, as he came through *Antwerp*, dealt  
 with an English Merchant that was secretly  
 a Friend of *Tindall's*, to procure him as ma-  
 ny of his New Testaments as could be had  
 for Mony. *Tindall* was glad of this; for  
 being about a more correct Edition, he  
 found he would be better enabled to set  
 about it, if the Copies of the Old were  
 sold off; so he gave the Merchant all he had,  
 and *Tonstall* paying the Price of them, got  
 them in his hands; and burnt them publicly  
 in *Cheapside*. This was called a burning of  
 the Word of God; and it was said the  
 Clergy had reason to revenge themselves  
 on it, for it had done them more Mischief  
 than all other Books whatsoever. But a  
 Year after this, the second Edition being  
 finished,



finished, great Numbers were sent over to **Book I.**  
*England*, and *Constantine* one of *Tindall's* Partners, hapned to be taken ; so *More* be-  
 lieving that some of the Merchants of *London*  
 furnished them with Mony, promised him  
 his Liberty, if he would discover who they  
 were that encouraged and assisted them :  
 so he told him the Bishop of *London* did  
 more than all the World besides, for he  
 had brought up the greatest gart of a faulty  
 Impression. The Clergy when they con-  
 demned *Tindall's* Translation, promised a  
 new one : but a Year after in a long Con-  
 demnation of several Books that were pub-  
 lished by *Warham*, *Tonstall*, and other Ca-  
 nonists and Divines, they added this, that  
 it was not necessary to publish the Scripture  
 in English, and that the King did well not  
 to set about it.

There came out a Book writ by one *The Sup-*  
*Fish* of *Graves-Inn*, that took mightily, *plication*  
 called, the *Supplication of the Beggars*, by *of the*  
 which they complained that the Alms of *Beggars.*  
 the People were intercepted by the Mendi-  
 cant Friars, that were an uselefs Burden  
 to the Government ; they also taxed the  
 Pope of Cruelty, for taking no Pity on the  
 Poor, since none but those that could pay  
 for it, were delivered out of Purgatory.  
 The King was so pleased with this, that  
 he would not suffer any thing to be done  
 against the Author. *More* answered it by  
 another Supplication in behalf of the Souls  
 in Purgatory, setting forth the Miseries  
 they were in, and the Relief which they  
 received

Book I. received by the Masses that were said for them, and therefore they called on their Friends to support the Religious Orders, that had now so many Enemies. This was elegantly and wittily written, but did not take so much as the other; for such is the ill nature of Mankind, that Satyres are always better received than Apologies, and no Satyres are more acceptable than those against Church-men.

Frith  
writes a-  
gainst  
Purgatory

Frith answered More in a Book more gravely written, in which he shewed that there was no mention made of Purgatory in the Scripture, that it was inconsistent with the Merits of Christ, by which upon sincere Repentance, all Sins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be punished: And tho Temporary Judgments, either as Medicinal Corrections, or for giving Warning to others, do sometimes fall even on true Penitents; yet terrible Punishments in another state, cannot consist with a free Pardon, and the remembring of our Sins no more. In expounding many Passages of the New Testament, he appealed to More's great Friend, Erasmus; and shewed, That the Fire which was spoken of by St. Paul, as that which would consume the Wood, Hay, and Stubble, could only be meant of the fiery Trial of Persecution. He shewed, That the Primitive Church received it not; Ambrose, Jerom, and Austin did not believe it; the last had plainly said, that no mention was made of it in Scripture. The Monks brought

brought it in; and by many wonderful Book I.  
Stories, possessed the World of the belief  
of it; and had made a very gainful Trade 1533.  
of it. This Book provoked the Clergy so  
much, that they resolved to make the Au-  
thor feel a real Fire, for endeavouring to  
extinguish their Imaginary one. *More* ob-  
jected Poverty, and want of Learning, to  
the new Preachers: But it was answered,  
The same thing was made use of to disgrace  
Christ and his Apostles; but a plain Sim-  
plicity of mind without Artificial Improv-  
ements, was rather thought a good Dis-  
position for Men that were to bear a Cross;  
and the Glory of God appeared more Emi-  
nently, than the Instruments seemed Con-  
temptible.

But the Pen proving too feeble, and too *A Persecu-*  
gentle a Tool, the Clergy betook them- *tion set on*  
selves to that, on which they relied more: *by More.*  
Many were vexed with Imprisonments for  
teaching their Children the Lord's Prayer  
in English, for harbouring the Preachers,  
and for speaking against the Corruptions  
in the Worship, or the Vices of the Cler-  
gy; but these generally abjured. One  
*Hitton*, that had been a Curate, and went  
over to *Tindall*, was taken coming back  
with some Books; and was by *Warham*  
condemned and burnt.

*Bilney*, after his Abjuration formerly  
mentioned, returned to *Cambridge*, and fell 1530.  
under great Horrour of mind; but over- *Bilney's*  
came it, and resolved to expiate his Apo- *Martyr-*  
stacy by a publick Acknowledgment: And *dom.*

Book I. that he might be able to do that on surer  
 1530. Grounds, he followed his Studies close  
 two Years; for then he left the Univer-  
 sity, and went into *Norfolk* where he was  
 born, and preached up and down that Coun-  
 ty, against Idolatry and Superstition; ex-  
 horting the People to live well, to give  
 much Almes, to believe in Christ, and  
 to offer up their Souls and Wills to him  
 in the Sacrament: He openly confessed his  
 own Sin of denying the Faith; and using no  
 Precaution as he went about, he was taken  
 by the Bishops Officers, and was condemned  
 as a Relapse, and degraded. *More* not only  
 sent down the Writ to burn him, but to  
 make him suffer another way; he affirmed  
 in Print that he had abjured: But no Paper  
 signed by him was ever shewed, and little  
 credit was due to the Priests who gave it  
 out, that he did it by word of Mouth:  
 But *Parker* (afterwards Archbishop) was  
 an eye Witness of his Sufferings. He bore  
 all the hardships he was put to, patient-  
 ly; and continued very cheerful after his  
 Sentence; and eat up the poor Provision  
 that was brought him, heartily; for he  
 said, he must keep up a ruinous Cottage  
 till it fell. He had those Words often in  
 his Mouth, *When thou walkest thorow the  
 Fire, thou shalt not be burnt*: And by burn-  
 ing his Finger in the Candle, he prepared  
 himself for the Eire, and said, it would only  
 consume the Stubble of his Body, but would  
 purify his Soul.

*Isaiah.*

On the 10th of *November* he was burnt.

\*

At



At the Stake he repeated the Creed, to shew he was a true Christian; for the Clergy made strange Representations of his Doctrine: Then he prayed earnestly, and with a deep sence repeated those Words, *Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant.* Dr. Warner that waited on him, embraced him, shedding many Tears, and wished that he might die in as good a state as that in which he then was. The Friars desired him to declare to the People, that they had not procured his Death, and he did it; so the last Act of his Life was full of Charity to his Enemies. His Sufferings Animated others. Byfield that had formerly abjured, was taken dispersing Tindall's Books, and one Tewkesbury, were condemned by Stokesley, and burnt. Two Men and a Woman were also burnt at York. Upon these Proceedings, the Parliament that sate that Year, complained to the King; but that did not cool the Heat of the Clergy. One Bainham a Councellour of the Temple, was taken on Suspicion of *Herefy*, and whipt in More's presence, and afterwards rackt in the Tower: Yet he could not be wrought on to accuse any, but through Fear he abjured. After that, being discharged, he was in great trouble of Mind, and could find no quiet till he went publickly to Church, and openly confessed his Sins; and declared the Torments he felt in his Conscience, for what he had done. Upon this, he was again seized on, and condemned, for having said, ' That *Thomas Becket* was a Murderer, and was damned, if he did not repent :

Book I.

1530.

Book I. 'And that in the Sacrament Christ's Body  
 was received by Faith, and not chewed

1530. 'with the Teeth. Sentence past upon him by *Stokesly*, and he was burnt. Soon after this, *More* delivered up the Great Seal, so the Preachers had some ease. *Crome* and *Latimer* were accused, but abjured. *Tracy*, (Ancestor to the present Lord *Tracy*) made a Will, by which he left his Soul to God, in hopes of Mercy through Christ, without the help of any other Saint; and therefore he declared, that he would leave nothing for Soul-Masses. This Will being brought to the Bishop of *London's* Court to be proved, after his Death, provoked them so much, that he was condemned as an Heretick; and an Order was sent to the Chancellour of *Worcester*, to raise his Body; but he went further and burnt it, which could not be justified, since he was not a Relapse. *Tracy's* Heirs sued him for it, and he was turned out of his place, and fined in 400 l. The Clergy proclaimed an Indulgence of forty days Pardon to any that carried a Faggot to the burning of an Heretick, that so Cruelty might seem the more Meritorious. And an aged Man (*Harding*) being condemned by *Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, as he was tied to the Stake, one flung a Faggot with such force at him, that it dashed out his Brains.

1533. After an Intermission of two Years, *Gardiner* represented to the King, That it would give him great Advantages against the Pope, if he would take hold of some  
 \* occasion

occasion to shew his hatred of *Heresy*. So *Book I.*  
*Frith* seemed a fit Person to offer as a Sa-  
crifice, to demonstrate his Zeal: He was *1533.*  
a young Man, much famed for Learning: *Frith's*  
and was the first that writ against the Cor- *Sufferings.*  
poral Presence in the Sacrament, in *Eng-*  
*land.* He followed *Zuinglius's* Doctrine  
on these Grounds; Christ received in the  
Sacrament, gave Eternal Life; but this was  
only to those that believed; from which  
he inferred, that he was received only by  
Faith. *St Paul* said, that the Fathers be-  
fore Christ eat the same Spiritual Food  
with Christians; from which it appears, that  
Christ is now no more corporally present  
to us then he was to them: And he argued  
from the nature of Sacraments in gene-  
ral, and the ends of the Lord's Supper,  
that it was only a Commemoration. Yet  
upon these Premises, he built no other  
Conclusion but that Christ's presence was  
no Article of Faith. *Frith* put these Rea-  
sons in Writing, which falling into *More's*  
hands, was answered by him; but *Frith*  
never saw that till he was put in Prison:  
And then, tho he was loaded with Irons,  
and had no Books allowed him, he replied,  
He insisted much on that Argument, That  
the Israelites did eat the same Food, and  
drank of the *same Rock, that was Christ;*  
and since Christ was only mystically, and  
by Faith received by them; he concluded,  
that he was now received only by Faith.  
He shewed, that Christ's Words, *This is my*  
*Body,* were accommodated to the Jewish  
Phrase of calling the Lamb *the Lord's Pas-*

Book I. over; and confirmed his Opinion with  
 many Passages out of the Fathers; in  
 which, the Elements were called *Signes* and  
 1533. *Figures* of Christ's Body; and they said that  
 upon Consecration they did not cease to  
 be Bread and Wine, *but remained still in*  
*their own proper Natures.* He also shewed,  
 That the Fathers were Strangers to all  
 the Consequences of that Opinion, as  
 that a Body could be in more places than  
 one at once, or could be in a place after  
 the manner of a Spirit: Yet he concluded,  
 That if that Opinion were held only as a  
 Speculation; so that Adoration were not  
 offered to the Elements, it might be well tol-  
 lerated, but that he condemned as gross Ido-  
 latry. This was intended by him to prevent  
 such Heats in *England*, as were raised in *Ger-*  
*many*, between the *Lutherans* and *Helveti-*  
*ans*, by reason of their different Opinions  
 concerning the Sacrament. He was seized  
 on in *May* 1533, and brought before *Stokes-*  
*ly*, *Gardiner*, and *Longland*. They object-  
 ed to him his not believing Purgatory, nor  
 Transubstantiation: He gave his Reasons  
 that determined him to look on neither  
 of these as Articles of Faith; but he thought  
 that neither the affirming nor denying them  
 ought to be determined positively. The  
 Bishops seemed unwilling to proceed to  
 Sentence; but he continuing resolute,  
*Stokesly* pronounced it; and so delivered  
 him to the Secular Arm, obtesting, that his  
 Punishment might be moderated, so that  
 the Rigour might not be too extream; nor  
 yet the gentleness of it too much mitigat-  
 ed.



ed. This Obtestation by the Bowels of Christ, was thought a Mockery ; when all the World knew that it was intended that he should be burnt. One *Hewet*, a Prentice of *London*, was also condemned with him, on the same account. When they were brought to *Smithfield*, *Frith* expressed great Joy, and hugged the Faggots with some Transport : *Cook*, a Priest, that stood by, called to the People not to pray for them more then they would do for a Dog. *Frith* smiled at that, and prayed God to forgive him : The Fire was kindled, which consumed them to ashes. This was the last Instance of the Cruelty of the Clergy at this time ; for the Act, formerly mentioned, regulating their Proceedings, followed soon after. *Philips*, at whose Complaint, that Bill was begun, was committed upon Suspicion of Heresy ; a Copy of *Tracy's* Will was found about him, and Butter and Cheese being also found in his Chamber in Lent: But he being required to abjure, appealed to the King as *Supreme Head*, and upon that he was set at Liberty ; but whether he was tried by the King or not, is not upon Record.

The Act that was past, gave the new Preachers and their Followers, some Respite. The King was also impowered to reform all Heresies, and Idolatries : And his Affairs did now oblige him to unite himself to the Princes of *Germany*, that by their means, he might so imbroid the Emperour's Affairs, as not to give him

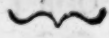
*A stop put to further Cruelties.*

Book I. leisure to turn his Arms against *England*; and this produced a slackning of all Sever-

1533. rities against them. : For those Princes, in that first fervour of the Reformation, made it an Article in all their Treaties, that none should be persecuted for favouring their Doctrine. The Queen did also open-

*The Inter-  
ests the Re-  
formers  
had at  
Court.*

ly protect them; she took *Latimer*, and *Shaxton* to be her Chaplains, and promoted them to the Bishopricks of *Worcester*, and *Salisbury*. *Cranmer* was fully convinced of the necessity of a Reformation, and that he might carry it on with true Judgment, and justify it by good Authorities, He made a great Collection of the Opinions of the Antient Fathers, and later Doctors, in all the Points of Religion; of which I have seen two Volumes in Folio: But by a Letter of the Lord *Burghly's*, it appears, there were then six Volumes of his Collections in his hands. He was a Man of great Candor, and much Patience and Industry; and so was on all accounts well prepared for that Work, to which the Providence of God did now call him; And tho he was in some things too much subject to the King's Imperious Temper, yet in the matter of the six Articles, he shewed that he wanted not the Courage that became a Bishop in so Critical an Affair as that was. *Cromwel* was his great and constant Friend; a man of mean Birth, but of excellent Qualities, as appeared in his adhering to his Master *Wolsey*, after his fall; a rare Demonstration of Gratitude in

in a Court, to a disgraced Favourite: And Book I.  
 in his greatest height, he happening to see a   
 Merchant of *Lucca*, who had pitied and 1534  
 relieved him when he was in *Italy*, but  
 did not so much as know him, or pretend to  
 any returns for the small Favours he had  
 formerly shewed him, and was then reduced  
 to a low condition, treated him with  
 such acknowledgments, that it became the  
 Subjects of several Pens, which strove who  
 should celebrate it most.

As these set themselves to carry on a *Others oppose it*  
 Reformation, there was another Party *in 1534.*  
 formed that as vigourously opposed it,  
 headed by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Gardiner*;  
 and almost all the Clergy went into it.  
 They perswaded the King that nothing  
 would give the Pope or the Emperour such  
 Advantages, as his making any Changes  
 in Religion; and it would reflect much on  
 him, if he who had writ so learnedly for  
 the Faith, should in spite to the Pope make  
 any Changes in it. Nothing would encourage  
 other Princes so much to follow his Example,  
 nor keep his Subjects so much in their Duty  
 to him, as his continuing stedfast in the  
 Antient Religion. These things made great  
 Impressions on him. But on the other hand,  
*Cranmer* represented to him that if he rejected  
 the Pope's Authority, it was very absurd to  
 let such Opinions or Practices continue in  
 the Church, that had no other Foundation  
 but Papal Decrees: and therefore he desired  
 that this might be put to the Trial, he  
 ought

Book I.



1534

ought to depend on God, and hope for good Success if he proceeded in this matter, according to the Duty of a Christian Prince.

*England* was a compleat Body within its self; and tho in the *Roman* Empire, when united under one Prince, General Councils were easily assembled, yet now that was not to be so much depended on; but every Prince ought to reform the Church in his Dominions by a National Synod; and if in the Antient Church such Synods condemned Heresies, and reformed Abuses, that might be much more done, when *Europe* was divided into so many Kingdoms. It was visible that tho both the Emperour and the Princes of *Germany* had for 20 Years desired a General Council, it could not be obtained of the Pope; he had indeed offered one at *Mantua*, but that was only an Illusion.

The Opin-  
ion of  
some Bi-  
shops of a  
General  
Council.

Upon that the King desired some of his Bishops to give their Opinion concerning the Emperour's Power of calling Councils: So *Cranmer*, *Tonstall*, *Clark* of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Goodrick* of *Ely*, made answer, That tho Ancient Councils were called by the *Roman* Emperours, yet that was done by reason of the Extent of their Monarchy, that was now ceased, but since other Princes had an entire Monarchy within their Dominions. Yet if one or more of those Princes should agree to call a Council to a good Intent, and desire the Concurrence of the rest, they were bound by the Rule of Charity to agree to it: They were also of Opinion that none but Bishops and Priests had

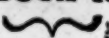


had Right to a definitive Voice in matters of Doctrine. Book I.

*Cranmer* also made a long Speech at that time, setting forth the necessity of a Reformation. It is probable it was in the House of Peers, for it begins; *My Lords* — ‘He begun with the Impostures and Deceit used by the Canonists and other Courtiers at *Rome*. Then he speak to the Authority of a General Councils; he shewed that it flowed not from the Number of the Bishops, but from the matter of their Decisions, which were received with an Universal Consent, for there were many more Bishops at the Council of *Arimini*, which was condemned, than either at *Nice* or *Constantinople*, which were received. Christ had named no Head of the whole Church, as God had named no Head of the World; but that grew up for Orders sake, as there were Arch-bishops set over Provinces; yet some Popes were condemned for Heresy as *Liberius*, and others. If Faith must be shewed by Works, the ill Lives of most Popes of late shewed that their Faith was to be suspected; and all the Priviledges which Princes or Synods granted to that See might be recalled. Popes ought to submit themselves to General Councils, and were be tried by them; he shewed what were the present Corruptions of the Pope and his Court, which needed Reformation: The Pope according to the Decree of the Council of *Basil* was the Churches Vicar, and

1534  
Heads of a  
Speech of  
Cranmers.

Book I. 'and not Christ's; and so was accounta-  
 ~~~~~ ble to it. The Churches of *France* de-  
 1534- 'clared the Council to be above the Pope,  
 'which had been acknowledged by many  
 'Popes themselves. The Power of Coun-  
 'cils had also Bounds, nor could they judg  
 'of the Rights of Princes, or proceed to a  
 'Sentence against a King; nor were their  
 'Canons of any force till Princes added  
 'their Sanctions to them. Councils  
 'ought also to proceed moderately, even  
 'against those that held Errors, and ought  
 'not to impose things indifferent too se-  
 'verely. The Scriptures, and not Men's  
 'Traditions, ought to be the Standards of  
 'their Definitions. The Divines of *Paris*  
 'held, That a Council could not make a new  
 'Article of Faith that was not in the Scrip-  
 'tures; and all Christ's Promises to the  
 'Church were to be understood with this  
 'condition, *if they kept the Faith*: therefore  
 'there was great reason to doubt concer-  
 'ning the Authority of a Council, some of  
 'them had contradicted others, and many  
 'others were never received. The Fathers  
 'had always appealed to the Scriptures, as  
 'Superiour in Authority to Councils, by  
 'which only all Controversies ought to be  
 'decided; yet on the other hand, it was  
 'dangerous to be wise in ones own Conceit,  
 'and he thought when the Fathers all  
 'agreed in the Exposition of any place of  
 'Scripture, that ought to be look'd on as  
 'flowing from the Spirit of God. He  
 'shewed how little Regard was to be had  
 'to

' to a Council, in which the Pope presided, **Book I.**  
 ' and that if any common Error had past   
 ' upon the World, when that came to be 1534-  
 ' discovered, every one was at liberty to  
 ' shake it off, even tho they had sworn to  
 ' maintain that Error: this he applied to  
 ' the Pope's Authority. In conclusion, he  
 promised to entertain them with another  
 Discourse of the Authority that all Bishops  
 had in their Sees, and that Princes had  
 within their Dominions. But I could  
 never recover that, and probably it is  
 lost.

This was the state of the Court after *The State*  
 King Henry had shaken off the Pope's *of Eng-*  
 Power, and assumed a Supremacy in Eccle- *land.*  
 siastical Affairs. The Nobility and Gen-  
 try were generally well satisfied with the  
 Change; but the Body of the People was  
 more under the Power of the Priests; and  
 they studied to infuse in them great Fears  
 of a Change in Religion. It was said the  
 King was now joyning himself to Hereticks,  
 that both the Queen, *Cranmer*, and *Crom-*  
*well* favoured them. It was left free to  
 dispute what were Articles of Faith, and  
 what were only the Decrees of Popes; and  
 Changes would be made under this Pre-  
 tence, that they only rejected those Opi-  
 nions which were supported by the Papal  
 Authority. The Monks and Friars saw  
 themselves left at the King's Mercy. Their  
 Bulls could be no longer useful to them. The  
 trade of new Saints, or Indulgences, was  
 near an end; they had also some Intima-  
 tions

Book I. tions that *Cromwell* was forming a Project  
 ~~~~~ for suppressing them; so they thought it  
 1534. necessary for their own Preservation to  
 imbroil the King's Affairs, as much as was  
 possible; therefore both in Confessions and  
 Discourses, they were infusing into the Peo-  
 ple a dislike of the King's Proceedings, and  
 this did so far work on them, that if the  
 Emperour's Affairs had been in such a  
 condition, that he could have made War  
 on the King, he might have done it with  
 great Advantage; and found a strong  
 Party in *England* on his side. But the  
 Practices of the Clergy at home, and of  
 Cardinal *Pool* abroad, the Libels that were  
 published, and the Rebellions that were after-  
 wards raised in *England*, wrought so much  
 on the King's Temper, that was naturally  
 imperious and boisterous, that he be-  
 came too apt to commit Acts of the high-  
 est Severity, and to bring his Subjects into  
 Trouble upon the slightest Grounds; and  
 his new Title of Head of the Church,  
 seemed to have encreased his former Va-  
 nity, and made him fancy that all his Sub-  
 jects were bound to regulate their Belief  
 by the measures he set them. He had  
 now reigned 25 Years, in all which time  
 none had suffered for Crimes against the  
 State, but *Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Stafford*  
*Duke of Buckingham*; (the former was exe-  
 cuted in Obedience to his Father's last  
 Commands; the latter fell by Cardinal  
*Wolfey's* Malice; he had also been inveigled  
 by a Priest to imagine he had a Right to  
 the



the Crown) but in the last ten Years of his Book I.  
Life, Instances of Severity returned more frequently. The Bishops and Abbots did 1534.  
what they could to free the King of any Jealousies that might be raised in him concerning them; and of their own accord, before any Law was made about it, they swore to maintain the King's Supremacy. The first Act of it was the making *Cromwell* Vicar General, and Visitor of all the Monasteries and Churches of *England*, with a Delegation of the King's Supremacy to him; he was also empowered to give Commissions subaltern to himself; and all Wills, where the Estate was in value above 200 *l.* were to be proved in his Court. This was afterwards enlarged, and he was made the King's *Vicerent* in Ecclesiastical Matters, and had the Precedence of all next the Royal Family; and his Authority was in all Points the same, that the Legates had in time of Popery: for as the King's came in the Popes room; so the *Vicerent* was what the Legates had been. Pains was taken to engage all the Clergy to declare for the Supreamacy. At *Oxford* a publick Determination was made, to which every Member assented, that the Pope had no more Authority in *England*, than any other Forreign Bishop. The *Franciscans* at *Richmond* made some more Opposition; they said, by the Rule of *St. Francis*, they were bound to obey the Holy See. The Bishop of *Litchfield* told them that all the Bishops in *England*, all the Heads of Houses,

Book I. Houses, and the most learned Divines had signed that Proposition. St. *Francis* made his Rule in *Italy*, where the Bishop of *Rome* was Metropolitan, but that ought not to extend to *England*: and it was shewed that the Chapter cited by them, was not written by him, but added since; yet they continued positive in their refusal to sign it.

*A general Visitation proposed.*

It was well known that all the Monks and Friars, tho they complied with the Time, yet they hated this new Power of the King's; the People were also startled at it; so one Dr. *Leighton*, that had been in the Cardinal's Service with *Cromwell*, proposed a General Visitation of all the Religious Houses in *England*: and thought that nothing would reconcile the Nation so much to the King's Supremacy, as to see some good Effect flow from it. Others thought this was too hardy a Step, and that it would provoke the Religious Orders too much. Yet it was known that they were guilty of such Disorders, that nothing could so effectually keep them in awe as the enquiring into these. *Cranmer* led the way to this by a Metropolitcal Visitation, for which he obtained the King's Licence; he took care to see that the Pope's Name was struck out of all the Offices of the Church, and that the King's Supremacy was generally acknowledged.

*Instructions and Injunctions for it.*

In *October* the General Visitation of the Monasteries was begun; which was cast into several Precincts: Instructions were given

given them, directing them what things to enquire after, as whether the Houses had the full number according to their Foundation, and if they performed Divine Worship in the appointed Hours; what Exemptions they had, what were their Statutes? how their Heads were chosen? and how their Vows were observed? Whether they lived according to the Severities of their Orders? how the Master and other Officers did their Duties? how their Lands and their Revenues were managed? what Hospitality was kept? and what care was taken of the Novices? what Benefices were in their Gift, and how they disposed of them? how the Inclosures of the Nunneries were kept? whether the Nuns went abroad, or if Men were admitted to come to them? how they imploied their time, and what Priests they had for their Confessors? They were also ordered to give them some Injunctions in the King's Name, That they should acknowledge his Supremacy, and maintain the Act of Succession, and declare all to be absolved from any Rules or Oaths that bound them to obey the Pope; and that all their Statutes tending to that, should be razed out of their Books. That the Abbots should not have choice Dishes, but plain Tables for Hospitality; and that the Scriptures should be read at Meals; that they should have daily Lectures of Divinity; and maintain some of every House at the University. The Abbot was required to instruct the Monks in true Religion, and to

Book I.

1535.

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shew

Book I. shew them that it did not consist in outward Ceremonies, but in Cleanness of Heart, and Purity of Life, and the worshipping of God in Spirit and Truth. Rules were given about their Revenues, and against admitting any under 20 Years of Age. The Visitors were empower'd to punish Offenders, or to bring them to answer before the Visitor General.

*The State  
of the Mo-  
nasteries  
in Eng-  
land.*

What the Ancient Brittish Monks were is not well known; whether they were governed according to the Rules of the Monks of *Egypt* or *France*, is matter of Conjecture. They were in all things obedient to their Bishops, as all the Monks of the Primitive Times were. But upon the Confusions which the *Gothick* Wars brought upon *Italy*, *Benedict* set up a new Order with more Artificial Rules for its Government. Not long after, *Gregory* the Great raised the Credit of that Order much, by his Books of Dialogues: and *Austin* the Monk being sent by him to convert *England*, did found a Monastery at *Canterbury*, that carried his Name, which both the King and *Austin* exempted from the Arch-bishop's Jurisdiction. But there is great reason to suspect that most of those Antient Charters were forged. After that many other Abbies were founded and exempted by the Kings of *England*, if Credit is due to the Leiger Books or Chartularies of the Monasteries. In the end of the eighth Century, the *Danes* made Descents upon *England*, and finding the most Wealth and the

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least



least Resistance in the Monasteries, they generally plundered them, in so much that the Monks were forced to quit their Seats, and they left them to the Secular Clergy; so that in King *Edgar's* time there was scarce a Monk left in all *England*. He was a leud and cruel Prince; and *Dunstan* and other Monks taking Advantage from some horrors of Conscience that he fell under, perswaded him that the restoring the Monastick State, would be matter of great *Merit*; so he converted many of the Chapters into Monasteries: and by the Foundation of the Priory of *Worcester*, it appears he had then founded 47, and intended to raise them to 50, the number of Pardon; tho the Invention of Jubilees being so much later, gives occasion to believe this was also a Forgery. He only exempted his Monasteries from all Payments to the Bishops; but others were exempted from Episcopal Jurisdiction. In some only the Precinct was exempted, in others, the Exemption was extended to all the Lands or Churches belonging to them. The latest Exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction granted by any King, is that of *Battel* founded by *William* the Conquerour: After this the Exemptions were granted by the Popes, who pretending to an Universal Jurisdiction, assumed this among other Usurpations. Some Abbeys had also the Priviledg of being Sanctuaries to all that fled to them. The Foundation of all their Wealth, was the belief of Purgatory, and of the Virtue that was

Book I.

1535.

in Masses to redeem Souls out of it; and that these eased the Tormentsof departed Souls, and at last delivered them out of them; so it past among all for a piece of Piety to Parents, and of care for their own Souls and Families, to endow those Houses with some Lands, upon condition that they should have Masses said for them, as it was agreed on more or less, frequently according to the measure of the Gift. This was like to have drawn in the whole Wealth of the Nation into those Houses, if the Statute of *Mortmain* had not put some restraint to that Superstition. They also perswaded the World, that the Saints interceded for them, and would take it kindly at their hands, if they made great Offerings to their Shrines, and would thereupon intercede the more earnestly for them: The credulous Vulgar measuring the Court of Heaven by those on Earth, believed Presents might be of great Efficacy there, and thought the new Favourites would have the most Weight in their Intercessions: So upon every new Canonization there was a new Fit of Devotion towards the last Saint, which made the elder to grow almost out of request. Some Images were believed to have an extraordinary Virtue in them, and Pilgrimages to these were much extolled. There was also great Rivalry among the several Orders, and different Houses of the same Orders, every one magnifying their own Saints, their Images and Relicks most.

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The

The Wealth of these Houses brought them under great Corruptions. They were generally very dissolute, and grossly ignorant. Their Priviledges were become a publick Grievance, and their Lives gave great Scandal to the World ; So that, as they had found it easy to bear down the Secular Clergy, when their own Vices were more secret; the begging Friars found it as easy to carry the Esteem of the World from them. These under the Appearance of Poverty, and coarse Diet, and Cloathing, gained much Esteem, and became almost the only Preachers and Confessors then in the World. They had a General at *Rome*, from whom they received such Directions, as the Popes sent them ; so that they were more useful to the Papacy then the Monks had been. They had also the School-Learning in their hands , so that they were generally much cherished. But they living much in the World, could not conceal their Vices so artificially as the Monks had done ; and tho several Reformations had been made of their Orders, yet they had all fallen under great Scandal, and a general Disesteem. The King intended to erect new Bishopricks ; and in order to that, it was necessary to make use of some of their Revenues. He also apprehended a War from the Emperour, and for that end, he intended to fortify his Harbours, and to encourage Shipping, and Trade, upon which, the Ballance of the World began then to turn : And in order to that, he

1535.

Book I. resolved to make use of the Wealth of those Houses, and thought, the best way to bring that into his hands, would be to expose their Vices, that so they might quite lose the Esteem they might yet be in with some, and so it might be less dangerous to suppress them. *Cranmer* promoted this much, both because these Houses were founded on gross Abuses, and subsisted by them; and these were necessary to be removed, if a Reformation went on. The Extent of many Diocesses was also such, that one man could not oversee them; so he intended to have more Bishopricks founded, and to have Houses at every Cathedral for the Education of those who should be imploied in the Pastoral Charge. The Visitors went over *England*, and found in many places, monstrous Disorders. The Sin of *Sodom* was found in many Houses; great Factions, and Barbarous Cruelties, were in others; and in some, they found Tools for Coining. The Report contained many abominable things, that are not fit to be mentioned: Some of these were printed, but the greatest part is lost; only a Report of 144 Houses is yet extant.

Some  
Houses  
surrendered.

The first House that was surrendered to the King, was *Langden*, in *Kent*; the Abbot was found a Bed with a Whore, who went in the Habit of a Lay Brother: This perhaps made him more willing to give an Example to the rest; so he and ten of his Monks, signed a Resignation of their House

to



to the King. Two other Houses in the same County, *Folkeston*, and *Dover*, followed their Example. And in the following Year, four other Houses made the like Surrenders: and these were all that I find before the Act of Parliament past, for suppressing the lesser Monasteries. Book I.  
1536.

*Q. Katherine* was put to much trouble, for keeping the Title, Queen, but bore it resolutely, and said, That since the Pope had judged that her Marriage was good, she would die rather than do any thing in prejudice of it. Her Sufferings begot Compassion in the People; and all the Superstitious Clergy supported her Interests zealously. But now her Troubles ended with her Life. She desired to be buried among the Observant Friars, for they had suffered most for her. She ordered 500 Masses to be said for her Soul; and that one of her Women should go a Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Walsingham*, and give 200 Nobles on her way to the Poor. When she found Death coming on her, as she writ to the Emperour, recommending her Daughter to his care: So she writ to the King, with this Inscription, *My dear Lord, King, and Husband.* She forgave him all the Injuries he had done her; and wish'd him to have regard to his Soul. She recommended her Daughter to his Care, and desired him to be kind to her three Maids, and to pay her Servants a Years Wages; and ended thus, *mine Eyes desire you above all things.* She died on the Eighth 1536.  
*Queen  
Katherin's  
Death.*

Book I. of *January*, at *Kimbolt on*, in the 50th Year of her Age, 33 Years after she came to *England*. She shas a Devout and Exemplary Woman: She used to work with her own hands, and kept her Women at work with her. The Severities and Devotions that were known to her Priests, and her Alms-Deeds, joined to the Troubles she fell in, begat a high Esteem of her in all sorts of People. The King complained often of her Peevishness; but that was perhaps, to be imputed, as much to the Provocations he gave her, as to the Sowness of her Temper. He ordered her to be buried in the Abbey of *Peterborough*, and was somewhat touched with her Death. But *Q. Ann* did not carry this so decently as became a happy Rival.

*In Parlia-  
ment, the  
lesser Mo-  
nasteries  
suppressed,*

In *February* a Parliament met, after a Prorogation of 14 Months. The Act empowering 32 to revise the Ecclesiastical Laws, was confirmed; but no time was limited for finishing it, so it had no effect. The chief business of this Session, was the suppressing of the Monasteries, under 200 *l.* a Year. The Report the Visitors made was read in the two Houses, and disposed them to great easiness in this matter. The Act sets forth the great disorders of those Houses, and the many unsuccessful Attempts that had been made to reform them; so the Religious that were in them, were ordered to be put in the greater Houses, where Religion was better observed, and the Revenues of them were given to the King. Those Houses were much richer than

than they seemed to be; for an abuse that had run over *Europe*, of keeping the Rents of the Church at their first Rates; and instead of raising them, the exacting great Fines for the Incumbent, when the Leases were renewed, was so gross in those Houses, that some rated but at 200 *l.* were in real value worth many Thousands. By another Act, a new Court was erected, with the Title of *the Court of the Augmentations of the King's Revenue*, consisting of a Chancellor, 12 Treasurers, 10 Auditors, 17 Receivers, besides other Officers. The King was also empowered to make new Foundations, of such of those Houses now suppressed, as he pleased, which were in all 370, and so this Parliament, after six Years Continuance, was now dissolved.

Book I.

1536.

A Convocation sate at this time, in which, a motion was made for Translating the Bible into English, which had been promised when *Tindal's* Translation was condemned, but was afterwards laid aside by the Clergy, as neither necessary nor expedient: So it was said, that those, whose Office it was to teach People the Word of God, did all they could to suppress it. *Moses*, the Prophets, and the Apostles, wrote in the Vulgar Tongue: Christ directed the People to search the Scriptures; and as soon as any Nation was converted to the Christian Religion, the Bible was translated into their Language; nor was it ever taken out of the hands of the People, till the Christian Religion was so corrupted, that it

*A Translation of the Bible designed.*

Book I.

1536.

it was not safe to trust them with such a *Book*, which would have so manifestly discovered those *Errors*; and the *Legends*, as agreeing better with those *Abuses*, were read instead of the Word of God. So *Cranmer* look'd on the putting the Bible in the People's hands, as the most effectual means for promoting the Reformation; and therefore moved, that the King might be prayed to give order for it. But *Gardiner*, and all the other Party, opposed this vehemently. They said, All the extravagant Opinions then in *Germany*, rose from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. Some of those Opinions were at this time disseminated in *England*, both against the Divinity, and Incarnation of Christ, and the usefulness of the Sacraments, for which 19 *Hollanders* had been burnt in *England* the former Year. It was therefore said, That during these Distractions, the use of the Scriptures would prove a great Snare: So it was proposed, that instead of them, their might be some short Exposition of the Christian Religion put in the Peoples hands, which might keep them in a certain Subjection to the King and the Church: But it was carried in the Convocation for the Affirmative. At Court, Men were much divided in this Point; some said, if the King gave way to it, he would never be able after that to govern his People, and that they would break into many Divisions. But on the other hand, it was said, That nothing would make the Difference between



between the Pope's Power, and the King's Supremacy, appear more eminently, than if the one gave the People the free use of the Word of God; whereas the other had kept them in Darkneſs, and ruled them by a blind Obedience. It would be alſo a great mean to extinguiſh the Inter-eſt that either the Pope or the Monks had in *England*, to put the Bible in the People's hands, in which it would appear, that the World had been long deceived by their Impoſtures, which had no Foundation in the Scriptures. Theſe Reaſons joyned with the Inter-eſt that the Queen had in the King, prevailed ſo far with him, that he gave order for ſetting about this with all poſſible haſt; and within three Years the Impreſſion of it was finiſhed. At this time, the King was in ſome Treaty with the *German* Princes, not only for a League in Temporal Concerns, but likewiſe in matters of Religion. The King thought the *Germans* ſhould have in all things ſubmitted to him; and the Opinion he had of his own Learning, which was perhaps heightned a little with his new Title of *Head of the Church*, made him expect, that they ſhould in all points comply with him. *Gardiner* was then his Ambaſſadour in *France*, and diſwaded him much from any Religious League with them, as that which would alienate the World abroad, and his People at home from him.

The Popiſh Party ſaw the inter-eſt the Queen had in him, was the great Obſtacle of

Book I.

1536.

Q. Ann's  
Fall.

Book I. of their Designs : She grew not only in the Kings Esteem, but in the Love of the Nation. The last Nine Months of her Life, She gave above 14000 *l.* in Alms to the Poor, and was much set on doing good. Soon after Queen *Katherin's* Death, she bore a dead Son, which was believed to have made some Impression on the King's mind. It was also considered, that now Queen *Katherine* being dead, the King might marry another, and be set right again with the Pope and the Emperour : And the Issue by any other Marriage would never be questioned ; whereas, while Queen *Ann* lived, the ground of the Controversy still remained, and her Issue would be Illegitimated, her Marriage being null from the beginning, as they thought. With these Reasons of State, the King's Affections joyned, for he was now in Love with *Jane Seymour*, whose humour was tempered in a mean, between the Gravity of Queen *Katherine*, and the Pleasantness of Queen *Ann*. The poor Queen used all possible Arts to rekindle a dying Affection ; but the King was changed, and instead of being wrought on by her Cares, he came to look on them as Artifices to cover some other Criminal Affection. Her cheerfulness was not always governed with Decency and Discretion : And her Brother's Wife being jealous of her Husband and Her, possessed the King with her own Apprehensions, and filled his Head with many Stories.

*Norris*

*Norris, Weston, and Brereton* the King's Book I.  
 Servants, and *Smeton* a Musician, were ob-  
 served to be particularly officious about her. Somewhat was pretended to have  
 been sworn by the Lady *Wyngfield* at her  
 Death, that determined the King; but there  
 is little light left to judg of that Mat-  
 ter. The King was at Jufts at *Greenwich*,  
 where it was reported, that he was displea-  
 sed with the Queen, for letting her Hand-  
 kerchief fall to one for wiping his Face; but  
 this seems to be a Fiction; for a Parlia-  
 ment was summoned the day before that, and  
 then it was resolved to destroy her. The  
 King left her, upon which she was confined  
 to her Chamber, and the five before menti-  
 oned were seized on, and sent to the *Tower*,  
 and the next day she was carried thither.  
 On the River, some Privy Counsellors came  
 to examine her; but she made deep Protestations  
 of her Innocence; and as she landed at  
 the *Tower*, she fell down on her Knees, and  
 prayed God so to assist her, as she was free  
 of the Crimes laid to her charge: After  
 this she fell into fits of the Mother, some-  
 times she laughed, and at other times she  
 wept excessively: She was also devout and  
 light by turns; and sometimes she stood  
 upon her Vindication, and at other times  
 she confessed some Indiscretions, which  
 she afterwards denied. All the People a-  
 bout her made the most of every Word that  
 fell from her, and sent it immediately to  
 Court. The others that were imprisoned  
 on her account, denied every thing, only  
*Smeton*

1536.

May 1,

Book I. *Smeton* confessed Leudness with her. The

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1536.

Duke of *Norfolk*, and others that came to examine her, made her believe that both *Norris* and *Smeton* had accused her; but tho that was false, yet it had this Effect on her, that it made her confess that which did totally alienate the King from her. She acknowledged that she had rallied *Norris*, that he waited for the King's Death, and then thought to have her, which tho he denied, yet upon that she fell out with him. She denied that *Smeton* was ever in her Chamber, but once when he came to play on the Virginals. She insinuated as if he had made Love to her; for seeing him one day pensive, she told him he must not expect that she should talk to him, since he was so mean a Person, and he answered, A Look would serve him. She also said, *Weston* had seemed jealous of *Norris*, for being oft in her Chamber, and had declared Love to her, upon which she desired him. Whether these Confessions were real Truths, or the Effects of Imagination and Vapors, cannot be certainly determined at this distance. It is probable there had been some Levities in her Carriage that were not becoming.

All the Court was now turned against her, and she had no Friend about the King but *Cranmer*; and therefore her Enemies procured an Order for him not to come to Court; yet he put all to hazard, and wrote the King a long Letter upon this Critical Juncture; 'He acknowledged that  
' if



‘if the Things reported of the Queen were true, it was the greatest Affliction that ever befel the King, and therefore ex-  
 ‘horted him to bear it with Patience and  
 ‘Submission to the Will of God: he con-  
 ‘fessed he never had a better Opinion of  
 ‘any Woman than of her; and that next  
 ‘the King, he was more bound to her,  
 ‘than to all Persons living; and there-  
 ‘fore he begged the King’s leave to pray  
 ‘that she might be found Innocent; he  
 ‘loved her not a little, because of the Love  
 ‘which she seemed to bear to God, and  
 ‘his Gospel; but if she was guilty, all that  
 ‘loved the Gospel must hate her, as ha-  
 ‘ving given the greatest Slander possible  
 ‘to the Gospel: but he prayed the King  
 ‘not to entertain any Prejudice to the Gos-  
 ‘pel on her account, nor give the World rea-  
 ‘son to say, That his Love to it was foun-  
 ‘ded on the Power that she had with him.

The King’s Jealousy was now too deeply rooted to admit of any Cure, but an ex-  
 ‘tream one: The Indictments were laid in  
 the Counties of *Kent* and *Middlesex*, the  
 former relating to what was done in *Green-  
 wich*. *Smeton* pleaded *Guilty*, and confessed  
 he had known the Queen carnally three  
 times; the rest pleaded *not guilty*; but  
 they were all condemned.

Three days after that, the Queen and  
 her Brother (who was then a Peer) were  
 tried before the Duke of *Norfolk*, as High  
 Steward and a Court of 27 Peers. It has  
 been oft given out to defame her the more,  
 that

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1536.

May 12.

May 15.  
 Her Trial,

Book I. that her own Father fate and condemned her : but the Record of the Attainder shews that is false, for he was not of the Number. The Crime charged on her was, That she had procured her Brother and four others to lie with her ; and had often said to them, *That the King never had her Heart* ; and this was to the Slander of the Issue begotten between the King and her, which was Treason by the Act that confirmed her Marriage : so that Act that was made for the Marriage, was now turned on her to ruine her. They would not now acknowledge her the King's lawful Wife, and therefore they did not found the Treason on the known Statute 25<sup>th</sup> Edw. 3. It does not appear what Evidence was brought against her : for *Smeton* being already condemned, could not be made use of ; and his never being brought face to face against her, gave great suspicion that he was perswaded to confess by base Practices. The Evidence, as appears by *Spelman's* Account of it, that was then a Judg, was only the Declaration of a dead Woman : but whether that was forged or real, can never be known till the great Day discovers it. The Judgment in case of Treason for a Woman, is Burning; but it was given either for that, or beheading at the King's Pleasure. The Judges complained of this as contrary to Law, but there was a secret Reason for it, into which they did not penetrate. The Earl of *Northumberland* was one of the Judges, he had been once in

Love

love with the Queen, and either some return of that, or some other Accident made that he fell suddenly so ill, that he could not stay out the Trial; for after the Queen was judged, he went out of the Court before her Brother was tried, who was condemned upon the same Evidence. Yet all this did not satisfy the enraged King; he resolved to illegitimate his Daughter, and in order to that to annul his Marriage with the Queen. It was remembered that the Earl of *Northumberland*, had said to Cardinal *Wolsey*, that he had engaged himself so far with her, that he could not go back, which was perhaps done by some Promise conceived in Words of the *Future Tense*; but no Promise, unless in the Words of the *Present Tense*, could annul the Subsequent Marriage. Perhaps the Queen did not understand that Difference, or probably the fear of so terrible a Death as *Burning*, wrought so much on her, that she confessed a Contract; but the Earl denied it positively, and took the Sacrament upon it, wishing that it might turn to his Damnation, if there was ever either Contract or Promise of Marriage between them. She was secretly carried to *Lambeth*, and confessed a Precontract, upon which her Marriage with the King was judged null from the beginning; yet this was so little known at that time, that *Spelman* writes of it as a thing only talked of, but it was published in the next Parliament. These two Sentences contradicted one

M                      another,

Book I. another; for if she was never the King's  
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 1536. Wife, she could not be guilty of Adultery,  
 for there could be no breach of the Faith of  
 Wedlock, if they were never truly married.  
 But the King was resolved both to  
 be rid of her, and to declare his Daughter  
 by her a *Bastard*.

*Her Execution.*

When she had Intimations given her to  
 prepare for Death; among other things  
 she reflected on her Carriage to Lady *Mary*,  
 to whom she had been too severe a *Step-*  
*mother*: So she made one of her Women sit  
 down, and she fell on her Knees before her  
 and charged her to go to Lady *Mary*, and  
 in that Posture, and in her Name, to ask  
 her Forgiveness for all she had done against  
 her. This Tenderneſs of Conſcience ſeem-  
 ed to give much Credit to the continual  
 Proteſtations of her Innocence, which ſhe  
 made to the laſt. The day before her  
 Death, ſhe ſent her laſt Meſſage to the  
 King, aſſerting her Innocence, recom-  
 mending her Daughter to his Care, and  
 thanking him for his advancing her, firſt  
 to be a Marchionefs, then to be a Queen,  
 and now, when he could raiſe her no higher  
 on Earth, for ſending her to be a Saint in  
 Heaven. The day ſhe died the Lieutenant  
 of the *Tower* writ to *Cromwell*, that it was  
 not fit to publiſh the time of her Execution,  
 for the fewer that were preſent it would  
 be the better; ſince he believed ſhe would  
 declare her Innocence at the hour of her  
 Death; for that morning ſhe had made  
 great Proteſtations of it, when ſhe received

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the



1536.

the Sacrament, and seemed to long for Death, and had great Joy and Pleasure in it; she was glad to hear the Executioner was good, for she said she had a very short Neck, at which she laughed heartily. A little before Noon, she was brought to the place of Execution; there were present some of the Chief Officers and Great Men of the Court; she was, it seems prevailed on out of regard to her Daughter, to make no Reflections on the hard measure she met with, nor to say any thing, touching the Grounds, on which Sentence past against her, only she desired that all would judge the best: she commended the King highly, and so took her leave of the World: She was for some time in her private Devotions, and concluded, *To Christ I commend my Soul*; upon which the Executioner, who was brought from *Calis* on that occasion, cut off her Head, and so little regard was had to her Body, that it was put in a Chest of *Elm-tree*, made to send Arrows into *Ireland*, and was buried in the Chappel in the *Tower*. *Norris* was much dealt with to accuse her, and his Life was promised him if he would do it; but he said he knew she was Innocent, and would die a thousand times rather than defame her: so he and the other three were beheaded, and all of them continued to the last to vindicate her. *Smeton* was hanged, and it was said, that he retracted all before he died; but of that, there is no certainty.

## Book I.

1536.

*Censures  
past upon  
"*

When this was done, it was very variously censured. The Popish Party observed, that she who had supplanted Queen Katherine, did now meet with harder measure; her faint way of speaking concerning her Innocence at last, was judged too high a Complement to the King in a dying Woman, and shewed more regard to her Daughter than to her own Honour; yet she writ a Letter to the King in so high a strain both of Wit and Natural Eloquence in her own Justification, that it may be reckoned one of the best composed pieces of that time. In her Carriage it seems there were some Freedoms that became not her Quality, and had encouraged those unfortunate Persons to make some Addresses to her, which is never done when there is such difference of Conditions, without some Encouragement is first given. It was said on the other hand, that the King of all Men, had the least reason to suspect her, since after six Years Courtship, he gained nothing from her, before he married her; but the Particulars she confessed, gave much matter for Jealousy, especially in so violent a Man, to work upon; and so it was no wonder if it transported him out of measure. Others condemned *Cranmer* as too obsequious for passing the Sentence annulling the Marriage: yet when she came and confessed a Precontract in Court, he could not avoid the giving Sentence upon it. All that hated the Reformation insulted, and said, it now appeared how

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bad

bad that Cause was, which was supported by such a Patron. But it was answered, that her Faults could not reflect on those, who being ignorant of them, had desired her Protection. *Gregory* the Great had courted and magnified *Phocas* and *Brunichild*, after he knew their Villanies; and *Irene* after her barbarous Cruelties, was not a little extolled for her Zeal in the matter of Images. It has seemed strange to some, that during her Daughter's long and glorious Reign, none writ in Vindication of her Mother, which officious Courtiers are apt to do often without any good Grounds, so that Silence was made an Argument of her Guilt, and that she could not be defended. But perhaps that was an effect of the Wisdom of the Ministers of that time, who would not suffer so nice a Point, upon which the Queen's Legitimation depended, to be brought into dispute. The day after *Anne Boleyn's* Death, the King married *Jane Scimour*, who gained more upon him, than all his Wives ever did: But she was happy that she did not out-live his Love to her.

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Lady *Mary* was advised upon this turn of Affairs, to make her Submission to the King: she offered to confess the Fault of her former Obstinacy, and in General, to give up her Understanding entirely to the King; but that would not satisfy, unless she would be more particular; so at last she was prevailed with, to do it in the fullest Terms that could be desired; 'She ac-

*Lady Mary's Submission to the King.*

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1536.

knowned the King to be the *Supream*  
 Head on Earth under Christ of the  
 Church of *England*, and did renounce  
 the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority; and  
 promised in all things to be obedient to  
 the Laws that were made; which she said  
 flowed from her inward Belief, and Judg-  
 ment, and in which she would for ever  
 continue; and she did also acknowledg  
 that the King's Marriage with her Mo-  
 ther, was by God's Law and Man's Law  
 unlawful and incestuous: all this she writ  
 with her own Hand, and subscribed it,  
 upon which she was again received into  
 Favour; and an Establishment was made  
 for a Family about her, in which 40*l.* a  
 quarter was all the Allowance for her Pri-  
 vy Purse, so great was the Frugality of  
 that time. Lady *Elizabeth* continued to  
 be educated with great Care, and was so  
 forward, that before she was four Years  
 old, she both wrote a good Hand, and un-  
 derstood *Italian*; for there are Letters ex-  
 tant written by her in that Language to  
 Queen *Jane*, when she was with child, in  
 which she subscribed *Daughter*.

*A Parlia-  
 ment  
 meets.*

On the 8th of *June* the Parliament met,  
 which shews that it was summoned before  
 the Justs at *Greenwich*. The Chancellour  
 told them, that the King had called them  
 to settle the Succession of the Crown, in  
 case he should dye without Children law-  
 fully begotten, and to repeal the Act made  
 concerning his Marriage with Queen *Anne*.  
 It seems the Parliament was not at first  
 easily



easily brought to comply with these things ; Book I.  
and that it was necessary to take some pains ~~~~~  
to prepare them to it. For the Bill of Suc- 1536.

‘but then it was quickly dispatched with-  
‘out any Opposition : by it the Attainder  
‘of Queen *Anne* and her Complices is con-  
‘firmed ; both the Sentences of Divorces  
‘pass’d upon the King’s two former Mar-  
‘riages were also confirmed ; and the  
‘Issue by both was illegitimated and for-  
‘ever excluded from claiming the Crown  
‘by Lineal Descent : And the Succession  
‘was established on the King’s Issue by his  
‘present Queen, or any whom he might  
‘afterwards marry. But it not being fit  
‘to declare who should succeed in default  
‘of that, lest the Person so named might  
‘be thereby enabled to raise Commotions,  
‘in Confidence of the King’s Wisdom, and  
‘Affection to his People, they left it to him  
‘nominate his Successors, either by Letters  
‘Patents, or by his last Will signed by his  
‘Hand, and promised to obey the Per-  
‘sons so nominated by him. It was decla-  
‘red *Treason* to maintain the Lawfulness  
‘of his former Marriages, or of his Issue  
‘by them, and it was made not only Trea-  
‘son, but a forfeiture of the Right of  
‘Succession, if any of those whom the King  
‘should name in default of others, should  
‘endeavour to get before them. The  
*Scots* complained of this Act, and said, their  
Queen *Dowager*, being King *Henry*’s Eldest  
Sister, could not be put by her Right, after

Book I. the King's lawful Issue. But by this the King was now made *Master* indeed, and had the Crown put entirely in his Hands, to be disposed of at his Pleasure; and his Daughters were now to depend wholly on him. He had it also in his Power in a great measure to pacify the Emperour by providing, that his Kinswoman might succeed to the Crown.

*Pope Paul the 3d, proposes a Reconciliation with the King.*

Pope *Clement* the 7th, was now dead, and *Farnese* succeeded by the Name of *Paul* the 3d, who, after an unsuccessful Attempt, which he made for reconciling himself with the King, when that was rejected, and *Fisher* was beheaded, thundered out a most terrible Sentence of Deposition against him: Yet now, since both Queen *Katherine* and Queen *Anne*, upon whose account the Breach was made, were out of the way, he thought it a fit time to try what might be done; and ordered *Cassali* to let the King know that he had always favoured his Cause when he was a Cardinal, that he was driven very much against his Mind to pass Sentence against him; and that now it would be easy for him to recover the Favour of the Apostolick See.

*Acts against the Pope's Power.*

But the King instead of hearkening to the Proposition, got two Acts to be pass'd; 'The one was for the utter extinguishing 'the Pope's Authority; and it was made 'a *Premunire* for any to acknowledg it, or 'to perswade others to it: And a strict 'Charge was given to all Magistrates under 'severe

severe Penalties to enquire after all Offenders. By another all Bulls and all Priviledges flowing from them, were declared null and void, only Marriages or Consecrations made by virtue of them, were excepted. All who enjoyed Priviledges by these Bulls were required to bring them into the *Chancery*; upon which the Arch-bishop was to make them a new Grant of them, and that, being confirmed under the Great Seal, was to be of full force in Law.

Another Act pass'd explaining an Exception, that was in the Act for the Residence of all Incumbents, by which those who were at the Universities were dispensed with, upon which many went and lived idly there. It was therefore now declared that none above the Age of forty, except Heads and publick Readers, should have the Benefit of that *Proviso*, and that none under that Age should be comprehended in it, except they performed their Exercises. Another Act pass'd in Favour of the King's Heirs, if they should Reign before they were of full Age, that they might any time before they were 24, repeal by Letters Patents all Acts made during their Minority. All these things being concluded, the Parliament after it had sate six Weeks, was dissolved.

The Convocation sate at the same time, and was much employed: for the House of Lords was oft adjourned, because the Spi-

*The Convocation examines some points of Ritual Religion.*

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1536.

Book I. ritual Lords were busy in the Convocation.

1536. *Latimer* preached the Latine Sermon; he was the most celebrated Preacher of that time; the Simplicity of his matter, and his Zeal in expressing it, being preferred to more elaborate Composures. They first confirmed the Sentence of the Divorce of the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*. Then the lower House made an Address to the upper House, complaining of 67 Opinions that they found were much spread in the Kingdom: they were either the Tenets of the old Lollards, or the new Reformers, or of the Anabaptists; and many of them were only unfavoury and indiscreet Expressions, which might have flowed from the Heat and Folly of some rash Zealots, who by petulant Jeers, and an Affectation of Wit, had endeavoured to disgrace both the received Doctrines and Rites. They also complained of some Bishops who were wanting in their Duty to suppress such Abuses; which was understood as a Reflection on *Cranmer*, *Shaxton*, and *Latimer*. It was hoped that *Cranmer* was now declining by Queen *Ann*'s Fall; and the other two who were raised by her, would not have stood long, if he had been once disgraced; yet they premised to this a Protestation, that they intended to do nothing that might displease the King, whom they acknowledged to be *their Supream Head*; and they were resolved to obey his Laws, and they renounced the Pope's Authority with all his



his Laws. All these Projects failed, for *Cranmer* was now fully established in the King's Favour; & *Cromwell* was sent to them with a Message from the King, That they should reform the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Rules set down in Scripture, which ought to be preferred to all Glosses or Decrees of Popes. There was one *Alesse* a Scotch-man, whom *Cromwell* entertained in his House, and he being appointed to deliver his Opinion, largely shewed that there was no Sacraments instituted by Christ, but Baptism and the Lord's Supper: *Stokesly* answered him in a long Discourse upon the Principles of the School-Divinity; upon which *Cranmer* took occasion to shew the Vanity of that sort of Learning, and the Uncertainty of Tradition: and that Religion had been so corrupted in the latter Ages, that there was no finding out the Truth, but by resting in the Authority of the Scriptures. *Fox* Bishop of *Hereford* seconded him, and told them the World was now awake, and would be no longer imposed on by the Niceties and dark Terms of the Schools; for the Laity now did not only read the Scriptures in the vulgar Tongues, but searched the Originals themselves; therefore they must not think to govern them as they had been in the Times of Ignorance: Among the Bishops, *Cranmer*, *Goodrick*, *Shaxton*, *Latimer*, *Fox*, *Hilsey*, and *Barlow*, prest a Reformation; but *Lee* Arch-bishop of *York*, *Stokesly*, *Tonstall*, *Gardiner*,

Book I. *Gardiner, Longland*, and several others opposed it as much : But the Contest had been sharper, if the King had not sent some Articles to them to be considered of by them ; so they whose chief Design it was to recommend themselves to Preferment, by the easiness of their Compliance with him in all Points, did agree on the following Particulars.

*Articles  
of Religi-  
on agreed  
on.*

‘ 1. That the Bishops and Preachers ought to instruct the People according to the Scripture, the three Creeds, and the four first General Councils.

‘ 2. That Baptism was necessary to Salvation, and that Children ought to be baptized for the pardon of Original Sin, and obtaining the Holy Ghost.

‘ 3. That Penance was necessary to Salvation and that it consisted in Confession, Contrition, and Amendment of Life, with the External Works of Charity, to which a lively Faith ought to be joyned ; and that Confession to a Priest was necessary where it might be had.

‘ 4. That in the *Eucharist* under the forms of Bread and Wine, the very Flesh and Blood of Christ, was received.

‘ 5. That Justification was the Remission of Sins, and a perfect Renovation in Christ, and that not only outward good Works, but inward Holiness was absolutely necessary : As for the outward Ceremonies the People were to be taught, that it was meet to have Images in Churches, but they ought to avoid all such  
‘ Super-

‘ Superstition as had been usual in time past, and not to worship the Image, but only God. 2. That they were to honour the Saints, but not to expect those things from them which God only gives. 3. That they might pray to them for their Intercession ; but all Superstitious Abuses were to cease ; and if the King should lessen the number of Saints Days, they ought to obey him. 4. That the use of the Ceremonies was good, and that they contained many Mystical Significations that tended to raise the mind towards God, such were Vestments in Divine Worship, Holy Water, Holy Bread, the carrying of Candles, and Palms and Ashes, and creeping to the Cross, and the Hallowing the Font, with other Exorcisms. 5. That it was good to pray for departed Souls, and to have Masses and Exequies said for them ; but the Scriptures having neither declared in what Place they were, nor what Torments they suffered, that was uncertain, and to be left to God : therefore all the Abuses of the Pope’s Pardons, or saying Masses in such or such Places, or before such Images were to be put away. These Articles were signed by *Cromwel*, the two Arch-bishops, sixteen Bishops, forty Abbots, and Priors, and fifty of the lower House ; to them the King added a Preface, declaring the Pains that he and the Clergy had been at, for the removing the Differences in Religion that were in the Nation, and that he approved of these Articles, and required

Book I. required all his Subjects to accept them  
 with the like Unanimity with which they  
 were consented to; and he would be there-  
 by encouraged to take further Pains in the  
 like Matters for the future.

*They are  
 variously  
 censured.*

When these things were published, those  
 that desired a Reformation, tho they did  
 not approve of every Particular, yet were  
 well pleased to see things brought under  
 Examination; and since some things were  
 at this time changed, they did not doubt  
 but more Changes would follow; they were  
 glad that the Scriptures and the Ancient  
 Creeds were made the Standards of the  
 Faith, without adding Tradition, and that  
 the nature of Justification and the Gospel-  
 Covenant were rightly stated; that the im-  
 mediate Worship of Images and Saints was  
 condemned, and that Purgatory was left  
 uncertain; but the necessity of Auricular  
 Confession, and the Corporal Presence,  
 the doing Reverence to Images, and pray-  
 ing to Saints, were of hard Digestion to  
 them: yet they were glad to see some  
 grosser Abuses removed, and a Reformation  
 once set on foot. The Popish Party were  
 sorry to see four Sacraments past over in  
 silence; and the Trade about Purgatory  
 put down; and were very apprehensive of  
 the Precedent of bringing matters of Reli-  
 gion under debate, which would bring on  
 other Alterations. When these things  
 were known beyond Sea, the Court of  
*Rome* made great use of them, to let all  
 Princes see the necessity of adhering to the  
 Holy



Holy See; for no sooner did *England* de- Book I.  
part from that, than it began to change the Doctrine likewise. The *Germans* on  
the other hand, said, This was a Political Daubing, for satisfying all Parties; and that it favoured not of the Sincerity that became the Professors of True Religion, to allow of so many Errours. To this it was answered, That our Saviour did not deliver all things to his Disciples, till they were able to bear them. And the Apostles did not abolish all the Rites of Judaism at once, but by a gentle Progress intended to wean those that were converted to the Christian Religion from them. The Clergy were to be drawn by slow and easy Steps out of their Ignorance and Superstition; whereas the driving on things with precipitated hast, might spoil the whole Design, and alienate those who by slower Methods might be gained; and it might also much endanger the Peace of the Nation.

At the same time other things were in Consultation, tho not finished. *Cranmer* offered some *Queries* to shew the Cheats that had been put on the World: as that Priestly Absolution without Contrition was of more efficacy than Contrition was without it: and that the People trusted wholly to outward Ceremonies; in which the Priests encouraged them because of the gain they made by them: That the exemption of Clergy-men was without good ground; that Bishops did ordain without due care and previous trial; and that the dignified Cler-

Book I. gy misapplied their Revenues, and did not  
 ~~~~~ reside on their Benefices ; he also desired  
 1536. that the other four Sacraments might be en-  
 quired into : but these things were not at  
 this time taken under any further consid-  
 eration. It is true, Confirmation seems to have  
 been examined : The Method in which they  
 made their Enquiries, was this ; the Point  
 to be examined was brought under so many  
 Heads, in the form of Queries ; and to  
 these every one gave his Answer with his  
 Reasons : so I find two Papers, the one of  
*Cranmer's*, the other of *Stokesly's*, on this  
 Head ; the former runs wholly upon Scrip-  
 ture-Authority, and he thinks it was not in-  
 stituted by Christ, but was done by the Apo-  
 stles, by that extraordinary Effusion of the  
 Holy Ghost, that rested on them : The  
 other founds his Opinion for its being a  
 Sacrament, on the Tradition of the Church ;  
 but nothing was determined in this point.  
*Cranmer* did at this time, offer another  
 Paper to the King, exhorting him to pro-  
 ceed to a further Reformation, and that  
 nothing should be determined without clear  
 Proofs from Scripture, for the departing  
 from that Rule, had been the Occasion of  
 all the Errours that had been in the Church.  
 Many things were now acknowledged to  
 be Errours, for which, some not long before,  
 had suffered Death. He therefore proposed  
 several points to be discussed ; as whether  
 there was a Purgatory ? Whether depart-  
 ed Saints ought to be invoked, or Tra-  
 dition be believed ? Whether Images ought  
 to

to be considered only as Representations of Book I.  
History? And whether it was lawful for  
the Clergy to marry? He prayed the King  
not to give Judgment in these points, till  
he heard them well examined: And for  
the last he offered, that if those who would  
defend the lawfulness of it, should not in  
the Opinion of indifferent Judges, prove their  
Opinion to be true, they should be willing to  
suffer Death; but if they proved it, all that  
they desired was, that the King would  
leave them to the Liberty which God had  
allowed them in that matter: But all this  
was carried no further at this time.

The Pope had issued out a Summons  
for a General Council at *Mantua*, and had  
cited the King to it: From this, the King  
did appeal to a General Council, rightly  
constituted. So a motion being made by  
*Fox*, that the Convocation should deliver  
their Sense in this Particular; They drew  
up a Paper, in which they set forth the  
great Good that might follow in a Ge-  
neral Council rightly called; but that no-  
thing could be more mischievous, than one  
called on private malice, according to what  
*Nazianzen* observed of the Councils in  
his time; And they thought neither the  
Pope, nor any one Prince, had sufficient  
Authority to call one; but that all Princes  
who had an entire and supream Govern-  
ment over all their Subjects, ought to con-  
cur to it. This was signed by them all,  
on the 20th of July; and so was the Con-  
vocation dismiss'd. Two days before it

N

brake

1536.

Book I. brake up, *Cromwel* was made the King's  
 1536. Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Matters, of  
 which, some Account was formerly  
 given.

*The King  
 protests a-  
 gainst a  
 Council  
 called by  
 the Pope.*

Soon after this, the King published a long and sharp Protestation, against the Council summoned by the Pope; he denied that he had any Authority to Summon any of his Subjects: He shewed that the place was neither proper nor safe; and that no good could be expected from any Council in which the Pope presided, since the regulating his Power was one of the chief occasions that the World had for a Council: And while Christendom was in such Distractions, and the Emperour and the King of *France* were engaged in War, it was not a fit time for one to be called. The Pope had refused it long; and this Conjuncture was chosen, in which the Bishops could not come to it, that so a packt meeting of *Italian* Bishops might do what they pleased, under the name of a General Council: But the World would be no longer cozened. No credit was due to a Pope's safe Conduct, for they had often broken their Oaths, as to himself in particular. And notwithstanding his former kindness to that See, they had been for three Years, stirring up all the Princes in Christendom against him. He protested against all Councils called by the Pope; but declared, He would be ready to concur with other Christian Princes for calling one, when it should be convenient: And in the mean

\*

while,



while, he would maintain all the Articles Book I. of the Faith; and lose his Life and Crown sooner than suffer any of them to be put down. Three Years after this, the King made a new Protestation to the same effect, when the Council was summoned to meet at *Vincennes*.

1536.

*Reginald Pool* began at this same time to raise that Opposition to the King, which proved so fatal to all his Family. He was by his Mother descended from the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the Fourth; and was by his Father likewise, the King's near Kinsman. To this high Quality, there was joined a great Sweetness of Temper, and a Disposition for Letters, which the King cherished much, and gave him the Deanery of *Exeter*, and some other Preferments, in order to the carrying on of his Studies, being resolved to advance him to the highest Dignities in the Church. He lived many Years, both at *Paris* and *Padua*. In the latter of these, he joined himself to a Society of Learned Men, that gave themselves much to the Study of Eloquence, and of the Roman Authors, among whom were *Contareno*, *Bembo*, *Caraffa*, and *Sadoletti*, all afterwards honoured with the Scarlet; but *Pool* was esteemed the most Eloquent of them all. When he was at *Paris*, he first incurred the King's Displeasure, for he refused to joyn with those whom he im-  
ploied, in order to the procuring the De-  
terminations of the French Universities for the Divorce. Yet after that, he came

*Cardinal  
Pool  
writes a-  
gainst the  
King.*

Book II. to England, and was present when the Convocation declared the King to be their  
 1536. *Supream Head*: And it is probable, that he joined in it, for he kept his Deanry some Years after this, which it is not likely would have been granted him, if he had not done that. The King suffered him after that to go beyond Sea, but could never draw him over again. Some time afterwards, he wrote plainly to the King, that he condemned both his Divorce, and his Separation from the Apostolick See. The King upon that, sent him a Book writ by *Sampson*, Bishop of *Chichester*, in defence of these things; and that set him on writing his Book, *de Unione Ecclesiastica*, which was printed this Year. It was full of sharp Reflections on the King, whom he compared to *Nebuchadnezzar*: It tended much to depress the Regal, and to exalt the Papal Authority. And in Conclusion, he addressed himself to the Emperour, praying him, rather to turn his Arms against the King, than the Turk. It was very Eloquenty wrote; but there was little Learning or Reasoning in it; and it was full of Indecencies in the Language, that he bestowed not only on *Sampson*, but on the King. The King required him to come over, but that was not to be expected, after he had made such a step. So he devested him of all his Dignities; but that recommended him to a Cardinal's Hat. *Stokesly*, and *Torstal*, wrote him a long and learned Letter, in the King's Vindication. *Gardine*

*diner* wrote also his Book, *de vera Obedientia*; to which, *Bonner* prefixed a vehement Preface against the Pope's Power, and for justifying the King's Supremacy. The King's anger at *Pool* could not reach him, but it fell Heavy on his Kindred.

Book I.

1536.

Visitors were appointed to survey all the lesser Monasteries: They were required to carry along with them the Concurrence of the Gentry near them, and to examine the estate of their Revenues and Goods, and take Inventories of them; and to take their Seals into their keeping: They were to try how many of the Religious would take Capacities, and return to a Secular Course of Life; and these were to be sent to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the Lord Chancellour for them; and an Allowance was to be given them for their Journey: But those who intended to continue in that state, were to be sent to some of the great Monasteries that lay next. A Pension was also to be assigned to the Abbot, or Prior, during Life: And of all this, they were to make their report by *Michaelmas*: And they were particularly to examine what Leases had been made all the last Year. The Abbots hearing of what was coming on them, had been raising all the Mony they could; and so it was intended to recover what was made away by ill Bargains. There were great Complaints made of the Proceedings of the Visitors, of their Violencies and Briberies; and perhaps not without reason.

*The lesser Monasteries cited in*

Book I. son. Ten Thousand of the Religious were  
 1536. set to seek for their Livings, with Forty  
 Shillings and a Gown a Man. Their Goods  
 and Plate were estimated at an 100000 l.  
 And the valued Rents of their Houses was  
 32000 l. but was really above ten times  
 so much. The Churches and Cloisters  
 were in most places pulled down, and the  
 Materials sold.

*which gave  
 a general  
 Discontent*

This gave a general Discontent; and  
 the Monks were now as much pitied, as  
 they were formerly hated. It was thought  
 strange to see the King devour what his  
 Ancestors had dedicated to the Honour  
 of God, and his Saints. The Nobility  
 and Gentry, who provided for their  
 younger Children, or Friends, by putting  
 them in those Sanctuaries, were sensible  
 of their Loss. The People who had been  
 fed at the Abbot's Tables, and as they  
 travelled over the Country, found the Ab-  
 bies to be places of Reception to Strangers,  
 saw what they were to lose. But the more  
 Superstitious, who thought their Friends  
 must now ly still in Purgatory, without that  
 Relief which the Masses procured them,  
 were out of measure offended at these Pro-  
 ceedings. The Books that were published  
 of the Disorders in these Houses, had no  
 great effect on the People: For it was said,  
 There was no reason to destroy whole  
 Houses for the sake of some vicious Per-  
 sons, who ought to have been driven out of  
 them, and punished. But to remove this  
 general discontent, *Cromwel* advised the  
 King



King to sell these Lands at very easy Rates, to the Nobility and Gentry, and to oblige them to keep up the wonted Hospitality. This would both be grateful to them, and would engage them to assist the Crown in the Maintenance of the changes that had been made; since their own Interests would be Interwoven with the Rights of Crown; and the commoner sort, whose grudges lay chiefly in their Stomachs, for the want of the good Dinners they used to find, would be easily pacified if these were still kept up. And upon a Clause in the Act empowering the King to found anew, such Houses as he should think fit; there were 15 Monasteries, and 16 Nunneries, new founded. It seems these had been more regular than the rest; so that for a while they were reprimanded, till the General Suppression came, that they fell with the rest. They were bound to obey such Rules as the King should send them; and to pay him Tenths, and first Fruits. But all this did not so pacify the People, but there was still a great out-cry. The Clergy studied much to inflame the Nation; and built much on this, That an Heretical Prince deposed by the Pope, was no more to be acknowledged, which had been for 500 Years received as an Article of Faith, and was decreed in the same Council, that Established Transubstantiation; and had been received and carried down from Gregory the Seventh's time, who pretended, that it was a part of the Papal

Book I. Power to depose Kings, and give away  
 ~~~~~ their Dominions, and had it been oft put  
 1536. in Practice in almost all the Parts of *Europe*,  
 and some that had been raisers of great Se-  
 ditions had been Canonized for it. The  
 Pope had summoned the King to appear at  
*Rome*, and answer for putting away his Queen  
 and taking another Wife, for the Laws he  
 had made against the Church, and for putting  
 the Bishop of *Rocheſter* and others to death  
 for their not obeying them; if he did not ap-  
 pear nor reform theſe things, he excommu-  
 nicated and deprived him, absolved his  
 Subjects from their Obedience, dissolved  
 his Leagues with Forreign Princes, and  
 put the Kingdom under an Interdict. But  
 tho the force of theſe Thunders was in this  
 Age much abated, yet they had not quite  
 loſt their Strength; and the Clergy reſol-  
 ved to make the moſt of them that could be.

*Injuncti-  
 ons given  
 by the  
 King.*

Some Injunctions which were given by  
*Cromwell*, increased this ill Diſpoſition.  
 They were to this Effect: All Church-men  
 were required every Sunday for a quarter  
 of a Year, and twice every Quarter after  
 that, to preach againſt the Pope's Power,  
 and aſſert the King's Supremacy, and to  
 explain the Articles lately ſet forth by the  
 Convocation; and to publiſh the Abroga-  
 tion of ſome Holy-days in Harveſt time:  
 They were no more to extol Images, Re-  
 licks, or Pilgrimages; but to exhort the  
 People to do Works of Charity inſtead of  
 them: And they were required to teach the  
 People the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and  
 the

the Ten Commandments in English, and to Book I.  
explain these carefully, and instruct the  
Children well in them. They were to per- 1536.  
form the Divine Offices reverently, and to  
have good Curats to supply their rooms  
when they were absent. They were char-  
ged not to go to Ale-houses, or sit too long  
at Games; but to study the Scriptures  
much, and be exemplary in their Lives:  
Those that did not reside, were to give the  
fortieth part of their Income to the Poor,  
and for every 100 *l.* a year that any had,  
they were to maintain a Scholar at some  
Grammar-School, or the University: and  
if the Parsonage-house was in decay, they  
were ordered to apply a fifth part of their  
Benefice for repairing it. Such as did not  
obey these Injunctions, were to be suspen-  
ded, and their mean Profits were to be se-  
questred. The Clergy detested this Pre-  
cedent of the King's giving Injunctions  
without the Concurrence of a Convocation,  
and by which, they said, they would be  
made Slaves to his *Viceregent*: they also  
complained of those heavy Taxes that  
were laid on them, and that Images, Re-  
licks, and Pilgrimages would be now  
brought under great Contempt. Both  
the Secular and Regular Clergy were so  
sensibly concerned in these things, that they  
inflamed the People all they could. The  
great Abbots were not wanting for their  
share to set that on, they were now op-  
prest with the Crouds of those who were  
sent to them from the suppress Houses, and  
they

Book I. they expected to fall next; nor were their  
 ~~~~~ Fears removed by a Letter that was  
 1536. sent about in the King's Name for silencing  
 all Reports that were given out of his In-  
 tentions to suppress them; this rather  
 encreased than lessened their Jealousie.

A Rebelli-  
 on in Lin-  
 colnshire.

The People continued quiet till they had  
 reaped their Harvest, but in the beginning  
 of *October* 20000 rose in *Lincolnshire*, led  
 by a Priest, disguised into a Cobler. They  
 took an Oath to be true to God, the King,  
 and the Common-wealth, and sent a Paper  
 of their Grievances to the King. They  
 'complained of some Acts of Parliament,  
 'of the suppressing of many Religious  
 'Houses, of mean and ill Counsellours,  
 'and bad Bishops; and prayed the King  
 'to address their Grievances by the Ad-  
 'vice of the Nobility: but yet they ac-  
 'knowledged him to be their Supream  
 'Head, and that the Tents and first  
 'Fruits of Livings belonged to him of right.  
 The King sent the Duke of *Suffolk* to raise  
 Forces against them, and gave an Answer  
 to their Petition. 'He said it belonged  
 'not to the Rabble to direct Princes what  
 'Counsellours they should choose. The  
 'Religious Houses were suppress by Law,  
 'and the Heads of them had under their  
 'Hands confessed such horrid Scandals,  
 'that they were a Reproach to the Nation;  
 'and since in many of them there were  
 'not above four, and that they wasted  
 'their Rents in riotous living, it was much  
 'better to apply them to the common good  
 'of



of the Nation, than leave them in such hands; he required them to submit to his Mercy, and to put two hundred of their Leaders into the hands of his Lieutenants. The Clergy having brought so many together, did all they could to put Heat and Spirit in them, they perswaded them that if they did not maintain their Faith and their Liberties, both would be lost. Some of the Gentry were forced to joyn with them for their own Preservation; and they sent Advices to the Duke of *Suffolk*, to procure from the King, the offer of a General Pardon, which would effectually dissipate them.

Book I.

1536.

At the same time there was a more formidable rising in *Yorkshire*, which being in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, was like to draw Assistance from that Kingdom: tho their King was then gone into *France*, to marry *Francis's* Daughter; this inclined the King to make more haste to settle matters in *Lincolnshire*; he sent them secret Assurances of Mercy, which wrought on the greatest part, so they dispersed themselves, and the most obstinate went to over them in *Yorkshire*. The Cobler, and some others, were taken and executed. The distance that those in the *North*, were at from the Court gave them time to rise, and form themselves into some Method: One *Ask* commanded in chief, and performed his part with great Dexterity: their March was called *The Pilgrimage of Grace*; they had in their Banners and on their Sleeves,

*Another  
in York-  
shire.*

the

Book I. the five Wounds of Christ: they took an Oath that they would restore the Church, suppress Hereticks, preserve the King and his Issue, and drive base-born Men and ill Counsellours from him. They became 40000 strong in a few days, and met with no Opposition, they forced the Arch-bishop of *York*, and the Lord *Darcy* to swear their Covenant, and to go along with them. They besieged *Skipton*, but the Earl of *Cumberland*, made it good against them: Sir *Ralph Evers* held out *Scarborough* Castle, tho for twenty days he and his Men had no Provisions but Bread and Water. There was also a rising in all the other Northern Counties, against whom the Earl of *Shrewsbury* made Head; and the King sent several of the Nobility to his Assistance, and within a few days the Duke of *Norfolk* marched with some Troops, and joyned him. They possessed themselves of *Doncaster*, and resolved to keep that pass till the rest of the Forces that the King had ordered to be summoned, should come up to them; for they were not in a Condition to engage with such numbers of desperate Men; and it was very likely that if they met with any ill Accident, the People might have risen about them every where; so the Duke of *Norfolk*, resolved to keep close at *Doncaster*, and let the Provisions and Rage of the Rebels spend, and then with the help of a little time, they might probably fall into Factions, and melt away. They had now fallen to 30000, but

but the King's Army was not above 5000. The Duke of *Norfolk* proposed a Treaty, and made some go among them as Desertors; and spread Reports that their Leaders were making Terms for themselves. They were perswaded to send their Petitions to the Court, and the King to make them more secure, discharged a Rendezvous that he had appointed at *Northampton*; and sent them a general Pardon, excepting six by name, and reserving four to be afterwards named; but this put them all in such Apprehensions, that it made them more resolved and desperate: Yet the King to give his People some Content, put out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to continue the use of all the Ceremonies of the Church: 300 were employed to carry the Rebels Demands to the King; Which were a General Pardon, a Parliament to be held at *York*; and that Courts of Justice should be set up there; they desired that some Acts of Parliament might be repealed, that the Princess *Mary* might be restored to her Right of Succession, and the Pope to his wonted Jurisdiction; that the Monasteries might be again set up; that *Andley* and *Cromwell* might be put from the King, and that some of the Visitors might be imprisoned for their Bribery and Extortion. But these being rejected, the Rebels took heart again, upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* advised the King to gentle Methods; he in his Heart wished that all their Demands might

be

Book I. be granted; and the *Ld Darcy* did accuse  
 him afterwards as if he had encouraged  
 them to make them. The King sent him  
 a general Pardon without any Exceptions;  
 to be made use of as he saw Cause. The  
 Rebels finding that with the loss of time,  
 they lost Heart, resolved to fall upon him  
 and beat him from *Doncaster*: but at two  
 several times, in which they had resolved  
 to pass the River, such Rains fell out as  
 made it unpassable, which was magnified  
 as next to a Miracle, and made great Im-  
 pressions on the Rebels Minds. The King  
 sent a long Answer to their Demands, he  
 assured them he would live and dye in the  
 Defence of the Christian Faith: but the  
 Rabble ought not to prescribe to him,  
 and to the Convocation in that matter;  
 he answered that which concerned the  
 Monasteries, as he had done to the Men  
 of *Lincolnshire*. For the Laws, a Multi-  
 tude must not pretend to alter what was  
 established; he had governed them now  
 28 Years, his Subjects had enjoyed great  
 Safety, and been very gently used by him  
 in all that time. It was given out that  
 when he began to reign, he had many of  
 the Nobility in his Council, and that he  
 had then none but Men meanly born; this  
 was false, for he found but two Noble-  
 Men of his Council, and at present there  
 were 7 Temporal Lords, and 4 Bishops  
 in it. It was necessary to have some that  
 knew the Law of *England*, and Treaties  
 with Forreign Princes, which made him  
 call



call *Audley* and *Cromwell* to the Board. Book I.

If they had any Complaints to make of

any about him, he was ready to hear

them; but he would not suffer them to

direct him what Counsellours he ought to

employ: nor could they judg of the

Bishops that were promoted, who were

not known to them; he charged them

not to believe Lies, nor be governed by

Incendiaries, but to submit to his Mercy.

On the 9th of *December*, he signed a Pro-

clamation of Pardon without any Re-

strictions.

When this was known, and the Rage

of the People cooled, they were willing to

lay hold on it, and all the Artifices that

some of the Clergy and their Leaders

could use, had no other Effect but to draw as

many together as brought them under new

Guilt, and made them forfeit the benefit

of the King's Pardon. Many came in and

renewed their Oaths of Allegiance, and

promising all Obedience for the future.

*Ask* was invited to the Court and well used

by the King, on design to learn from him

all the secret Correspondencies they had in

the other parts of the Kingdom, for the

Disposition to Rebel was general, only

they were not all alike forward in it. It

was in particular believed that the great

Abbots cherished it, for which some of

them were afterwards attained. *Darcy*

pleaded his great Age, being then fourscore,

and the Eminent Service he had done the

Crown for fifty Years together, and that

he

They are  
every-  
where qui-  
eted.

Book I.

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he was forced for his own Preservation to go along with the Rebels; but yet he was put in Prison. This gave the Clergy Advantages to infuse it in the People, that the Pardon would not be well kept: So 8000 run together again, and thought to have surprized *Carlisle*, but the Duke of *Norfolk* fell on them and routed them, and by Martial Law hanged their Captains, and 70 other Persons. Others thought to have surprized *Hull*, but were likewise routed, and many of them were hanged. Many other little Risings were quickly dispersed; and such was the Duke of *Norfolk's* Vigilance, that he was every where upon them before they could grow to any Number: and before the end of *January*, the Country was absolutely quieted. *Ask* left the Court without leave, but was soon retaken and hanged at *Tork*. The Lord *Darcy* and *Hussy* were arraigned at *Westminster*, and condemned by their Peers, the one for the *Torkshire*, and the other for the *Lincolnshire* Insurrections. *Darcy* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*; his old Age and former Services made him to be much lamented. *Hussy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*. *Darcy* accused the Duke of *Norfolk*, but he desired a Trial by Combate upon it, yet the Services he had lately done were such, that the King would not seem to have any Jealousy of him. After these and several other Executions were over, the King proclaimed a General Oblivion in *July*, by which the Nation was again put in a quiet Condition,

dition, and this threatening Storm was now quite dissipated. *Book I.*

As soon as it was over, the King went on more resolutely in his Design of suppressing the Monasteries: for he was now less apprehensive of any new Commotions, after so many had been so happily quash'd and that the chief Incendiaries had suffered.

A new Visitation was appointed to enquire into the Conversation of the Monks, to examine how they stood affected to the Pope, and how they promoted the King's Supremacy. They were likewise ordered to examine what Impostures might be among them, either in Images or Relicks, by which the Superstition of the credulous People was wrought on. Some few Houses of greater value, were prevail'd with the former Year to surrender to the King. Many of the Houses that had not bin dissolved, tho' they were within the former Act, were now suppress'd, and many of the greater Abbots were wrought on to surrender by several Motives. Some had been faulty during the Rebellion, and so to prevent a Storm, offer'd a Resignation. Others liked the Reformation, and did it on that account: some were found guilty of great Disorders in their Lives, and to prevent a shameful Discovery, offer'd their Houses to the King; and others had made such Wasts and Dilapidations, that having taken Care of themselves, they were less concerned for others. At *St. Albans*, the Rents were let so low, that the Abbot

O could

*The great  
ser Mona-  
sties re-  
signed to  
the King.*

Book I. could not maintain the Charge of the Ab-  
 by. At *Battel*, the whole Furniture of the  
 House and Chappel was not above an 100 *l*.  
 in value, and their Plate was not 300 *l*.  
 In some Houses there was scarce any Plate  
 or Furniture left. Many Abbots and  
 Monks were glad to accept of a Pension  
 for Life, and that was proportioned to the  
 value of their House, and to their Inno-  
 cence. The Abbots of *St. Albans* and  
*Tewkesbury*, had 400 Marks a Year: The  
 Abbots of *St. Edmondshury* was more inno-  
 cent and more resolute: The Visitors  
 wrote that they found no Scandals in that  
 House: but at last he was prevailed with  
 by a Pension of 500 Marks to resign. The  
 Inferiour Governours had some 30, 20, or  
 10 *l*. Pensions, and the Monks had general-  
 ly 6 *l*. or 8 Marks a piece. If any Abbot  
 died, the new Abbot (they being chosen as  
 the Bishops were upon a *Conge delivre*, and a  
 Missive Letter) was named for that pur-  
 pose, only to resign the House. And all  
 were made to hope for Advancement, that  
 should give good Example to others by a  
 quick and cheerful Surrender: by these  
 means 121 of those Houses were this Year  
 resigned to the King. In most Houses the  
 Visitor made the Monks sign a Confession  
 of their former Vices and Disorders, of  
 which there is only one Original Extant,  
 that escaped a general Rasure of all such Pa-  
 pers in Queen *Mary's* time; in which they  
 acknowledged in a long Narrative, their  
 former Idleness, Gluttony, and Sensua-  
 \*

ality,



ality, for which the pit of Hell was ready  
 to swallow them up. Others acknowledged  
 that they were sensible that the man-  
 ner of their former pretended Religion  
 consisted in some dumb Ceremonies, by  
 which they were blindly led, having no  
 true Knowledge of God's Laws, but that  
 they had procured Exemption from their  
 Diocefans, and had subjected themselves  
 wholly to a Forreign Power, that took  
 no care to reform their Abuses; and  
 therefore since the most perfect way of  
 Life was revealed by Christ and his Apo-  
 stles, and that it was fit they should be  
 governed by the King, their *Supream*  
*Head*, they resigned to him. Of this sort  
 I have seen six. Some resigned in hopes  
 that the King would found them of new;  
 these favoured the Reformation, and in-  
 tended to convert their Houses to better  
 Uses, for preaching, study, and Prayer;  
 and *Latimer* prest *Cromwell* earnestly, that  
 two or three Houses might be reserved for  
 such purposes in every County. But it  
 was resolved to suppress all, and therefore  
 neither could the Intercessions of the Gen-  
 try of *Oxfordshire*, nor of the Visitors,  
 preserve the Nunnery at *Godstow*, tho  
 they found great Strictness of Life in it,  
 and it was the common place of the Educa-  
 tion of young Women of Quality in that  
 County. The common Preamble to most  
 Surrenders was, 'That upon full Delibe-  
 ration and of their own proper Motion,  
 for just and reasonable Causes, moving  
 O 2 'their

## Book I.

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their Consciences; they did freely give up their Houses to the King. Some surrendered without any Preamble, to the Visitors as Feoffees in trust for the King. In short, they went on at such a rate, that 159 Resignations were obtained before the Parliament met, and of these the Originals of 154 are yet extant. Some thought that these Resignations could not be valid, since the Incumbents had not the Property, but only the Trust for life of those Houses. But the Parliament did afterwards declare them good in Law. It was also said, that they being of the Nature of Corporations, all Deeds under their Seals were valid; and that at least by their Resignation and quitting their Houses, they forfeited them to the King. But this was thought to subsist rather on a Nicety in Law, than natural Equity.

Some Abbots as-  
sainted.

Others were more roughly handled. The Prior of *Wooburn* was suspected of a Correspondence with the Rebels, and of favouring the Pope; he was dealt with to submit to the King, and he was prevailed on to do it, but was not easie in it once, nor fixed to it; 'He complained that the new Preachers detracted from the Honour due to the Virgin and Saints; he thought the Religion was changed, and wondered that the Judgments of God on *Q. Anne*, had not terrified others from going on to subvert the Faith. When the Rebellion broke out, he joined in it, as did also the Abbots of *Whaley*, *Garvauk*, and *Sawley*, and

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and the Prior of *Burlington*, all these were all taken, and attainted of Treason, and executed. The Abbots of *Glassenbury* and *Reading*, had also sent a great deal of their Plate to the Rebels, the former to disguise it the better, had made one break into the House where the Plate was kept: So he was convicted both of Burglary and Treason, and at his Execution he confessed his Crime, and begged both God's and the King's Pardon for it. The Abbot of *Colchester* was also attainted, and executed; but the Grounds of it are not known: for the Records of their Attaindors are lost. These had over and over again taken the Oaths, in which they acknowledged the King to be *Supream Head of the Church*, and were present in those Parliaments in which the several Acts about it were pass'd, and did not dissent to them; and since they made no Opposition, when they might safely and legally do it, there is no Reason to think they would have done it afterwards, when it was more dangerous and criminal: So that all those who have represented them as having suffered for denying the King's Supremacy, have therein shewed their Unacquaintedness with the Journals of Parliament. The Abbot of *Reading* had complied so far, that he was grown into Favour with *Cromwell*; so that in some Contests between *Shaxton* Bishop of *Salisbury* and him, the Bishop, who was a proud ill-natured Man, complained that *Cromwell* supported the Abbot against him, and

Book I. writ upon that a very Insolent, Expostulatory Letter to him; which *Cromwell* answered with great strength of Reason and Decency of Stile; by which it appears that heighth of his Condition, had no other Effect on him, but to make him know himself and others better. Upon the Attainders of those Abbots, their Abbies were seized on; and this was thought a great stretch both in Law and Equity: for it seemed not reasonable, if an Incumbent was faulty, for that to seize on his Benefice, which upon his Attainder ought to continue entire, and pass to the next Successor, as if he were really dead. But a Clause was put in the Act of Treason, 26 *Hen. 8.* That *whatsoever Lands of Estate of Inheritance, any that should be convicted of Treason, had in Use or Possession by any Right or manner, should be forfeited to the King.* By which, as intailed Estates were certainly comprehended, so it seems they applied it likewise to Church-Benefices: yet when the Bishop of *Rocheſter* was attainted, this was not thought on. The words, *Estate of Inheritance*, seemed to exclude Church-Lands, but the mention that was made of Traitors *Successors*, that were cut off as well as their *Heirs*, seemed on the other hand to include Estates, to which Successors might come in a Traitor's room, as well as those which descended by Inheritance. The Words were ambiguous, and were stretched to justify those Seizures; and therefore in an Act of Treasons made in the next Reign, this was more cautiously worded:

for



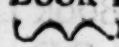
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for it was provided that Traitors should forfeit the Estates which they possessed *in their own Right*. But whatsoever Illegality there might be in these Proceedings, they were confirmed by the following Parliament, in a special *Proviso* made concerning those Abbies that were seized on by any Attainders of Treason. Many of the *Carthusians* were executed for denying the King's Supremacy: Others were also suspected of favouring them, and of receiving Books sent from beyond Sea, against the King's Proceedings, and were shut up in their Cells, in which most of them died. The Prior was a Man of extraordinary Charity and Good-Works, as the Visitor reported: But he was made resign with this Preamble, 'That many of the House had offended the King, and deserved that their Lives should be taken, and their Goods confiscated; and therefore to avoid that, they surrendered their Houses. Great Complaints were made of the Visitors, as if they had used undue Practices to make the Abbots and Monks surrender: and it was said, that they had in many Places embezzell'd much of the Plate to their own Uses; and in particular, it was complained that Dr. *London* had corrupted many Nuns. They on the other hand, published many of the vile Practices that they found in those Houses, so that several Books very indecently writ, were printed upon this Occasion; but on so foul a Subject it is not fit to stand long. No Story became so publick

Book I. publick as that of the Prior of the crossed  
 Friers in *London*, who was found in bed  
 1537. with a Whore at Noon-day : He fell down  
 on his Knees, and beg'd, that they who  
 surpris'd him, would not discover his  
 shame : They made him give them 30 l,  
 which he protested was all he had ; and he  
 promised them as much more : But he not  
 keeping his word to them, a Suit followed  
 upon it. Yet all these personal Blemishes  
 did not work much on the People. It  
 seem'd unreasonable to extinguish Noble  
 Foundations, for the fault of some Individ-  
 uals : Therefore another way was taken,  
 which had a better effect.

*The Impo-  
 stures of I-  
 mages dis-  
 covered.*

They discovered many Impostures about  
 Relicks, and wonderful Images, to which,  
 Pilgrimages had been wont to be made. At  
*Reading* they had an Angel's Wing, which  
 brought over the Spear's Point that pier-  
 ced our Saviour's Side : As many pieces of  
 the Cross were found, as joined together,  
 would have made a big Cross. The Rood  
 of Grace at *Boxley* in *Kent*, had been much  
 esteemed, and drawn many Pilgrims to  
 it : It was observed to bow, and roul its  
 Eyes ; and look at times well pleased, or  
 angry ; which the credulous Multitude im-  
 puted to a Divine Power : But all this  
 was discovered to be a Cheat, and it was  
 brought up to *St. Paul's* Cross ; and all the  
 Springs were openly shewed, that governed  
 its several Motions. At *Hales* in *Glocester-*  
*shire* the Blood of Christ was shewed in  
 a Vial ; and it was believed, that none  
 could

could see it who were in mortal Sin : And Book I.  
 so after good Presents were made, the de-  
 luded Pilgrims went way well satisfied if   
 they had seen it. This was the Blood of 1537.  
 a Duck renewed every Week, put in a  
 Vial very thick of one side, as thin on  
 the other ; and either side turned towards  
 the Pilgrim, as the Priests were satisfied  
 with their Oblations : Several other such  
 like Impostures were discovered, which  
 contributed much to the undeceiving the  
 People.

The richest Shrine in *England* was *Thomae Beckets* at *Canterbury*, whose Story is *Becket's Shrine broken.*  
 well known. After he had long imbroil-  
 ed *England*, and shewed that he had a Spi-  
 rit so turned to Faction, that he could not  
 be at quiet ; some of *Henry* the Second's  
 Officious Servants killed him in the Church  
 of *Canterbury* : He was presently Cano-  
 nized, and held in greater esteem than any  
 other Saint whatsoever ; so much more  
 was a Martyr for the Papacy valued, than  
 any that suffered for the Christian Religion :  
 And his Altar drew far greater Oblations,  
 than those that were dedicated to Christ,  
 or the blessed Virgin ; as appears by  
 the accounts of two of their Years. In one,  
 3 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* And in another, not a Penny  
 was offered at Christ's Altar. There was  
 in the one, 63 *l.* 5 *s.* 6 *d.* and in the other,  
 4 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.* offered at the Blessed Virgin's  
 Altar. But in these very Years there was,  
 832 *l.* 12 *s.* 3 *d.* and 964 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* offer-  
 ed at *St. Thomas's* Altar. The Shrine  
 grew

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grew to be of inestimable Value. *Lewis* the Seventh of *France* came over in Pilgrimage to visit it, and offered a Stone, valued to be the richest in Europe. He had not only one Holy Day, the 29th of *December*, called his Martyrdom; but also the Day of his Translation, the 7th of *July*, was also a Holy Day; and every 50th Year there was a Jubily, and an Indulgence, granted to all that came and visited his Tomb: And sometimes there were believed to be 100000 Pilgrims there on that Occasion. It is hard to tell whether the Hatred to his seditious Practices, or the Love of his Shrine, set on King *Henry* more to Unsaint him. His Shrine was broken, and the Gold of it was so heavy, that it filled two Chests, which took Eight men a piece to carry them out of the Church; and his Skull, which had been so much worshipped, was proved to be an Imposture; for the true Skull was with the rest of his Bones in his Coffin; his Bones were either burnt, as it was given out at *Rome*; or so mixed with other Bones, as our Writers say; that it had been a Miracle indeed to have distinguished them afterwards. The King called at this time, a Meeting of the Clergy, of 10 Bishops, 8 Archdeacons, and 17 Divines and Canonists; and made them finish an Explanation of the Christian Religion. But this was afterwards digested into a better form, as shall be told in its proper place.

When



When all these things were known at **Book I.**  
*Rome*, all the Eloquent Pens there were  
imploied to represent King *Henry* as the  
most Sacrilegious Tyrant that ever was;  
that made War with Christs Vicar on  
Earth, and his Saints in Heaven; and he  
was compared to the worst Princes that  
ever reigned; to *Pharaoh*, *Nebuchadnezzar*,  
*Belshazzar*, *Nero*, and *Diocletian*; but the  
Parallel with *Julian*, the Apostate, was most  
insisted on. It was said, He copied after  
him in all things, save only, that his Ma-  
ners were worse. In many of these, Car-  
dinal *Pool's* Stile was pretended to be  
known; and they were all at least much  
encouraged by him, which provoked the  
King to hate him most Implacably. The  
Pope went further; for now he published all  
those Thunders, with which he had threat-  
ned him three Years before. 'He pre-  
tended, That as God's Vicar, he had  
power to root out, and to destroy; and  
had Authority over all the Kings in the  
World: And therefore, after he had e-  
numerated all the King's Crimes, he re-  
quired himself to appear within 90 days,  
at *Rome*, either in Person, or by Proxy,  
and all his Complices within 60 Days; and  
if he and they did not appear, he decla-  
red him to have fallen from his Crown;  
and them from their Estates. He put the  
Kingdom under an Interdict; and absol-  
ved his Subjects from their Oaths of Alle-  
giance: He declared him and his Com-  
plices, Infamous; and put their Children  
under

1537.

The Pope  
thunders  
against the  
King,

Book I. 'under Incapacities. He required all the  
 'Clergy to go out of *England*, within 5  
 1537. 'Days after the time prefixed should ex-  
 'pire; leaving only so many as might  
 'serve for Baptizing Children, or giving  
 'the Sacrament to such as died in Penitence.  
 'He charged all his Subjects to rise in Arms  
 'against him, and that none should assist  
 'him. He absolved all other Princes from  
 'their Confederacies with him, and ob-  
 'tested them to have no more Commerce  
 'with him. He required all Christians to  
 'make War on him; and to seize on the  
 'Persons and Goods of all his Subjects;  
 'and make Slaves of them. He charged  
 'all Bishops to publish the Sentence with  
 'due Solemnities; and ordained it to be  
 'affixed at *Rome, Tournay* and *Dunkirk*. This  
 was first given out the 30 of *August* 1535;  
 but it had been all this while suspended,  
 till the Suppression of the Monasteries, and  
 the burning of *Becket's* Bones, did so in-  
 flame the Pope, that he resolved to for-  
 bear going to Extremities no longer. So  
 on the 17 of *December* this Year, the Pope  
 published the Bull, which he said he had  
 so long suspended at the Intercession of  
 some Princes; who hoped that King *Henry*  
 might have been reclaimed by gentler  
 Methods; and therefore since it appeared  
 that he grew still worse and worse, he  
 was forced to proceed to his Fulminations.  
 By this Sentence it is certain, That either  
 the Popes Infallibility, must be confessed to  
 be a Cheat put upon the World, or if any  
 believe

believe it, they must acknowledge, that the Power of deposing Princes, is really lodged in that Chair: For this was not a sudden fit of Passion, but was done *ex Cathedra*, with all the Deliberation they ever admit of. The Sentence was in some particulars without a Precedent; but as to the main Points of deposing the King, and absolving his Subjects from their Obedience, there was abundance of Instances to be brought in these last 500 Years, to shew that this had been all along asserted the Right of the Papacy. The Pope writ also to the Kings of *France*, and *Scotland*, with design to inflame them against King *Henry*: And if this had been an Age of *Croissades*, no doubt there had been one undertaken against him; for it was held to be as meritorious, if not more, to make War on him, than on the Turk. But now the Thunders of the *Vatican* had lost their force.

The King got all the Bishops, and Eminent Divines of *England*, to sign a Declaration against all Church-men, who pretended to the Power of the Sword, or to Authority over Kings; and that all that assumed such Powers, were Subverters of the Kingdom of Christ. Many of the Bishops did also sign another Paper, declaring the Limits of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Power, that both had their Authority from God, for several Ends, and different Natures; and that Princes were subject to the Word of God, as well as Bishops ought to be obedient to their Laws.

There

*The Bishops of England assert the King's Power, and the Nature of Ecclesiastical Offices.*

Book I. There was also another Declaration made, signed by *Cromwel*, the 2 Archbishops, 11 Bishops, and 20 Divines; asserting the Distinction between the Power of the Keys, and the Power of the Sword. The former was not absolute, but limited by the Scripture. Orders were declared to be a Sacrament instituted by Christ, which were conferred by Prayer, and Imposition of Hands. And that in the New Testament, no mention was made of any other Ranks, but of Deacons, or Ministers; and of Priests, or Bishops. After this, the use of all the Inferiour Degrees of Lectures, Acolyths, &c. was laid down. These were set up about the beginning of the 3<sup>d</sup> Century; for in the middle of that Age, mention is made of them, both by *Cornelius*, and *Cyprian*; and they were intended to be degrees of Probation, through which Men were to ascend to the higher Functions. But the Canonists had found out so many Distinctions of Benefices; and that a simple Tonsure, qualified a Man for several of them; that these Institutions became either a matter of Form only; or were made a Colour for Laymen to possess Ecclesiastical Benefices. In this, and several other Books of that time, *Bishops* and *Priests* are spoken of, as being both one Office. In the Ancient Church there were different Ordinations, and different Functions belonging to these Offices, tho the Superiour was believed to include the Inferiour. But in the latter Ages, both the



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the School-men & Canonists seemed on different grounds to have designed to make them appear to be the same Office; and that the one was only a higher degree in the same Order. The School-men, to magnify Transubstantiation, extolled the Office, by which that was performed so high, and the Canonists, to exalt the Pope's Universal Authority, deprest the Office of Bishops so low, to make them seem only the Pope's Delegates; and that their Jurisdiction was not from Christ, that by these means, these two Offices were thought so near one another, that they differed only in degree: And this was so well observed at *Trent*, that the Establishing the Episcopal Jurisdiction, as founded on a Divine Right, was apprehended as one of the fatallest Blows that could have been given to the Papacy. This being at this time so commonly received, it is no wonder, if before that matter came to be more exactly inquired into, some of the Reformers writ more carelessly in the Explanations they made of these Offices, which is so far from being an Argument, that they were upon due enquiry of another mind; that it is to be look'd on as a part of the Dregs of Popery, flowing from the belief of Transubstantiation, and the Pope's Supremacy, of which all the Consequences were not so early observed.

This Year the English Bible was finished. The Translation was sent over to *Paris* to be printed there, for the Workmen in

*The Bible  
in English,  
and new  
Injunctions.*

*Eng-  
ons.*

Book I. *England* were not thought able to go about it. *Bonner* was then Embassadour in *France*; and he obtained a Licence of *Francis* for printing it; but upon a Complaint made by the French Clergy, the Press was stopt, and many of the Copies were seized on, and burnt. So it was brought over to *England*, and was undertaken, and now finished, by *Grafton*. *Cromwel* procured a General Warrant from the King, allowing all his Subjects to read it; for which, *Cranmer* wrote his thanks to *Cromwel*; and rejoiced to see the day of Reformation now risen in *England*, since the Word of God did shine over it all, without a Cloud. Not long after this, *Cromwel* gave out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to set up Bibles in their Churches, and to encourage all to read them. He also exhorted the People not to dispute about the sense of difficult places, but to leave that to Men of better Judgments. Incumbents were required to instruct the People, and teach them the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in English: And that once every Quarter there should be a Sermon, to declare the true Gospel of Christ; and to exhort the People to Works of Charity; and not to trust to other Men's Works, to Pilgrimages, or Relicks, nor the saying their Beads, which tended to Superstition. Images, abused by Pilgrimages made to them, were to be ordered to be taken away. No Candle was to be before any Image, but the

the Crucifix: And they were to teach the People, that it was Idolatry, to make any other use of Images, but merely to put them in minde of those whom they represented: And such as had formerly magnified Images, or Pilgrimages, were required openly to recant and confess, that they had been led into an Errour, which Covetousness had brought into the Church. All Incumbents were required to keep Registers for Christnings, and Marriages; and to teach the People that it were good to omit the Suffrages to the Saints in the Litany. These struck at some of the main Points of the former Superstition, both about Images, Pilgrimages, and the Invocation of Saints: But the free Use of the Scriptures gave the deadliest Blow of all. Yet all the Clergy submitted to them without any Murmuring.

Prince *Edward* was this Year born, and this very much blasted the Hopes of the Popish Party, which were chiefly built on the probability of Lady *Mary's* succeeding to the Crown, which was now set at a greater distance. So both *Lee*, *Gardiner*, and *Stokesly*, seemed to vie with the Bishops of the other Party, which of them should most zealously execute the Injunctions, and thereby intimate themselves most into the King's Esteem and Favour. *Gardiner* was some Years Ambassador in *France*, but *Cromwell* got *Bonner* to be sent in his room, who seemed then to be the most zealous Promoter of the Reformation, that was then

Printed  
ward born.

Book I. in England. After that, *Gardiner* was sent  
 1538. to the Emperour's Court, with Sir *Henry*  
*Knevet*, and there he gave some occasion  
 to suspect that he was treating a Reconcili-  
 ation with the Pope's Legate. But the  
*Italian* that managed it, being sent with  
 a Message to the Ambassadour's Secretary,  
 he mistook *Knevet*'s Secretary for *Gardiner*'s,  
 and told his Business to him. *Knevet* tried  
 what could be made of it, but could not  
 carry it far: For the *Italian* was disowned,  
 and put in Prison upon it: And *Gardiner*  
 complained of it, as a Trepan laid to ruine  
 him. The King continued still to employ  
 him; but rather made use of him, than  
 trusted him: yet *Gardiner*'s Artifices and  
 Flatteries were such, that he was still pre-  
 served in some Degrees of Favour, as long  
 as the King lived; but he knew him so  
 well, that he neither named him one of  
 his Executors, nor one of his Son's Council,  
 when he made his Will. *Gardiner* used one  
 Topick which prevailed much with the King,  
 that his Zeal against Heresy was the great-  
 est Advantage that his Cause could have  
 over all Europe: And therefore he press-  
 ed him to begin with the Sacramentaries (so  
 were those of the *Helvetian* Confession cal-  
 led) and those being condemned by the  
*German* Princes, he had the less reason to  
 be afraid of imbroiling his Affairs by his  
 Severities against them. This meeting so well with the King's  
 own Perswasions about the Corporal Pre-  
 sence, had a great effect on him, and an  
 occasion

Lambert is  
 condemned  
 and burnt  
 for deny-  
 ing the  
 Corporal  
 Presence.



occasion did quickly offer it self to him, to declare his Zeal in that matter. *Lambert* was at that time accused before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: He had been Chaplain to the Factory of *Antwerp*, and there he associated himself to *Tindall*: Afterwards he was seized on coming over to *England*; but upon the changes that followed, he was set at Liberty. *Dr. Taylor* had preached on the Corporal Presence in his hearing: This offended him, and he drew up his Reasons against it, and gave them to *Taylor*. He communicated it to *Burns*, who was a hot man, and a fierce *Lutheran*: And they thought that the venting that Opinion would stop the Progress of the Reformation, give Prejudice to the People, and divide them among themselves: And therefore they brought this matter before *Cranmer*, who was at that time likewise a *Lutheran*; he dealt with *Lambert* to retract his Paper; but he took a fatal Resolution, and appealed to the King. Upon which, the King resolved to judge him in Person, and to manage the Trial with great Solemnity; and for that end, many of the Nobility and Bishops were sent for. When the day came, there was a vast Appearance. The King's Guards and Cloath of State, were all in White, to make it look the liker a Divine Service. *Lambert* begun with a Complement, acknowledging the King's great Learning, and his Goodness in hearing the Causes of his Subjects. The King stop'd him

Book I.

1538.

Book I. him, and bad him forbear Flatteries, and  
 ~~~~~  
 1538. speak to the matter: And he argued against  
 him from Christ's Words, that the Sacra-  
 ment must be his Body. *Lambert* answered in  
*St. Austin's* Words, That it was his Body  
 in a certain manner, but that a Body could  
 not be in two places at once. To this the  
 King commanded *Cranmer* to speak; and  
 he argued, That since Christ is still in Hea-  
 ven, and yet he appeared to *St. Paul*, that  
 therefore he may be in different places at  
 once. *Lambert* said, That was but a Vi-  
 sion, and was not the very Body of Christ.  
*Tonstall* argued, That the Divine Omni-  
 potence was not to be measured by our  
 Notions, of what was impossible. *Stokesly*  
 argued, That one Substance may be changed  
 into another, and yet the Accidents remain;  
 So Water when it boiled, did evaporate in  
 Air, and yet its Moisture remained. This  
 was received with great Applause; tho  
 it was an ill Inference, that because there  
 was an accidental Conversion, therefore  
 there might be a Substantial one, in which  
 one Substance was annihilated, and ano-  
 ther produced in its place. Ten, one after  
 another, disputed, and their Arguments,  
 with the stern Words and Looks that  
 the King interposed, together with the  
 length of the Action, in so publick an As-  
 sembly, put *Lambert* in some Confusion;  
 and upon his Silence, a great Shout of Ap-  
 plause followed. In Conclusion, the King  
 asked him if he was not convinced, and  
 whether he would live or die? But he  
 conti-

continued firm to his Opinion; So *Cromwel* was commanded to read the Sentence of his Condemnation; and not many days after, it was executed in a most barbarous manner, in *Smithfield*: For there was not Fire enough put under him to consume him suddenly; so that his Legs and Thighs were burnt away while he was yet alive. He bore it patiently, and continued to cry out, *None but Christ, none but Christ*. He was a Man of considerable Learning, and of a very good Judgment. The Popish Party improved this, and perswaded the King of the good effects it would have on his People, who would in this see his Zeal for the Faith; and they forgot not to magnify all that he had said, as if it had been uttered by an Oracle; which proved him to be both *Defender of the Faith, and Supream Head of the Church*. All this wrought so much on the King, that he resolved to call a Parliament, both for the suppressing the Monasteries, and the new Opinions.

*Fox*, Bishop of *Hereford*, died at this time: He had been much imploied in Germany, and had settled a League between the King and the German Princes. The King was acknowledged the Patron of their League, and he sent them over 100000 Crowns a Year, for the support of it. There was a Religious League also proposed; but upon the turn that followed in the Court upon Queen *Ann's* Death, that fell to the ground; and all that was in put their League relating to Religion, was, That

*Treaties with the German Princes.*

Book I. they should joyn against the Pope as the common Enemy, and set up the true Religion according to the Gospel. But the Treaty about other Points was afterwards set on foot. The King desired *Melanchthon* to come over; and several Letters passed between them, but he could not be spared out of *Germany*; tho he was then invited both to *France* and *England*. The *Germans* sent over some to treat with the King; the Points they insisted most on were, the granting the Chalice to the People, and the putting down private Masses, in which the Institution seemed express; the having the Worship in a known Tongue, which both common sense, and the Authority of *St. Paul's* Epistle to the *Corinthians*, seemed to justify much. The third was, The Marriage of the Clergy; for they being extream sensible of the Honour of their Families, reckoned, that could not be secured, unless the Priests might marry. Concerning these things, their Ambassadors gave a long and learned Memorial to the King; to which an Answer was made, penned by *Tonstall*; in which the things they complained of, were justified by the ordinary Arguments. Upon *Fox's* Death, *Bonner* was promoted to *Hereford*; and *Stokesly* dying not long after, he was translated to *London*. *Cromwell* thought that he had raised a Man that would be a faithful Second to *Cranmer* in his Designs of Reformation, who indeed needed help; not only to ballance the Opposition



position made him by other Bishops, but to lessen the Prejudices he suffered by the Weakness and Indiscretion of his own Party, who were generally rather Clogs than Helps to him. Great Complaints were brought to the Court of the rashness of the new Preachers, who were flying at many things not yet abolished. Upon this, Letters were writ to the Bishops, to take care that as the People should be rightly instructed; so they should not be offended with too many Novelties. Thus was *Cranmer's* Interest so low, that he had none to depend on, but *Cromwell*. There was not a Queen now in the King's Bosom to support them; and therefore *Cromwell* set himself to contrive how the King should be engaged in such an Alliance with the Princes of *Germany*, as might prevail with him, both in Affection and Interest, to carry on what he had thus begun. And the Beauty of *Anne of Cleve* was so represented to him, that he set himself to bring about that Match.

A Parliament was summoned to the 28th of April, in which twenty of the Abbots sate in Person. On the 5th of May, a Motion was made, that some might be appointed to draw a Bill, against Diversity of Opinions in matters of Religion; these were *Cromwell*, *Cranmer*, the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Bangor*, *Carlisle*, and *Worcester*; they were divided in their Minds; and tho the Popish Party were five to four, yet the Authority that

The Act  
of the six  
Articles.

Book I. *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* were in, turned the Ballance a little; but after they had met eleven days, they ended in nothing. Upon that the Duke of *Norfolk* proposed the six Articles; The first was for the Corporal Presence. 2. For Communion in one kind. 3. For observing the Vows of Chastity. 4. For private Masses. 5. For the Celibate of the Clergy. And the sixth, was for Auricular Confession: Against most of these *Cranmer* argued several days. It is not like he opposed the first, both because of that which he had declared in *Lambert's* Case so lately, and in his own Opinion, he was then for it; but he had the Words of the Institution, and the constant Practice of the Church for twelve Ages to object to the second: and for the third, since the Monks were set at Liberty to live in the World, it seemed hard to restrain them from Marriage, and nothing did so effectually cut off their Pretensions to their former Houses, as their being married would do. For the fourth, if private Masses were useful, then the King had done very ill to suppress so many Houses, that were chiefly founded for that end: the Sacrament was also by its first Institution, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, to be a Communion; and all those private Masses were invented to cheat the World. For the fifth, it touched *Cranmer* in the quick, for it was believed that he was married, but the Arguments used for that will be found in the next Book. For Auricular Confession, See

Gardiner

*Gardiner* and *Tunstall*, press'd much to have Book I.  
it declared necessary by the *Law of God*.

*Cranmer* argued against this, and said it was 1538.  
only a good and profitable thing. The  
King came often to the House in Person,  
and disputed in these Points: for the  
greatest part he was against *Cranmer*; but  
in this particular he joyned with him.  
*Tunstall* drew up all the Quotations, brought  
from Antient Authors for it, in a Paper  
which he delivered to the King; the King  
answered in a long Letter, written with his  
own Hand, in which he shewed, that the  
Fathers did only advise Confession, but did  
not impose it as necessary: and so it was  
concluded in general, only that it was *necef-  
sary and expedient*. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of May, the  
Parliament was prorogued a few days, but  
by a Vote it was provided that the Bills  
should continue in the state they were then  
in. At their next meeting, two Com-  
mittees were appointed to draw the Bill  
of Religion; *Cranmer* was the chief of the  
one, and *Lee* of the other; both their  
Draughts were carried to the King, and  
were in many places corrected with his own  
Hand; in some Parts he writ whole Pe-  
riods a new. That which *Lee* drew was  
more agreeable to the King's Opinion; so  
it was brought into the House. *Cranmer*  
argued three days against it, and when it  
came to the Vote, the King who was much  
set on having it past, desired him to go  
out, but he excused himself, for he thought  
he was bound in Conscience to vote against  
it:

Book I. it: But the rest that opposed it, were more  
 1539. compliant, and it also passed without any  
 considerable Opposition in the House of  
 Commons, and was assented to by the King.

The Substance of it was, That the King  
 being sensible of the good of Union, and  
 of the mischief of Discord, in points of  
 Religion, had come to the Parliament in  
 Person, and opened many things of high  
 Learning there; and that with the assent  
 of both Houses, he set forth these Arti-  
 cles.

1. That in the Sacrament there was no  
 Substance of Bread and Wine, but only  
 the Natural Body and Blood of Christ.

2. That Christ was entirely in each  
 kind, and so Communion in both was  
 not necessary.

3. That Priests by the Law of God,  
 ought not to marry.

4. That Vows of Chastity taken after  
 the Age of 21, ought to be kept.

5. That Private Masses were lawful  
 and useful.

6. That Auricular Confession was ne-  
 cessary, and ought to be retained. Such  
 as did speak or write against the first of  
 these, were to be burned without the  
 benefit of Abjuration; and it was made  
 Felony to dispute against the other five:  
 and such as did speak against them were to  
 be in a *Premunire* for the first Offence; the  
 second was made Felony. Married Priests  
 that did not put away their Wives, were  
 to be condemned of Felony, in those that  
 lived



lived incontinently, the first Offence was a *Premunire*, and the second Felony. Wo-  
men that offended were to be punished as the Priests were. Those that contemned Confession and the Sacrament, and abstained from it at the accustomed times, were for the first Offence in a *Premunire*, the second was Felony. Proceedings were to be made in the Forms of Common Law, by Presentments, and a Jury, and all Church-men were charged to read the Act in their Churches once a Quarter.

This Act was received with great Joy by all the Popish Party; they reckoned that now Heresy would be extirpated, and that the King was as much engaged against it, as he was when he writ against *Luther*: this made the Suppression of the Monasteries pass much the easier. The poor Reformers were now exposed to the Rage of their Enemies, and had no Comfort from any part of it, but one, that they were not delivered up to the Cruelty of the Ecclesiastical Courts, or the Trials *ex Officio*, but were to be tried by Juries: yet the denying the benefit of Abjuration, was a Severity without a Precedent, and was a forcing Martyrdom on them, since they were not to be the better for their Apostasy. It was some Satisfaction to the married Clergy, that the incontinent Priests were to be so severely punished; which *Cromwell* put in, and the Clergy knew not how they could decently oppose it. Upon the passing the Act, the German Ambassadors

*Censures*  
pass upon  
it.

Book I. dours being set on to it by those that favoured their Doctrine in *England*, desired an Audience of the King, and told him of the Grief with which their Masters would receive the News of this Act; and therefore earnestly press'd him to stop the Execution of it. The King answered that he found it necessary to have the Act made, for repressing the Insolence of some People, but assured them it should not be put in Execution, except upon great Provocation. When the Princes heard of the Act, they writ to the King to the same purpose: they warned him of many Bishops that were about him, who in their Hearts loved Popery, and all the old Abuses; and took this method to force the King to return back to the former Yoke, hoping that if they once made him cruel to all those they called Hereticks, it would be easy to bring him back to submit to that Tyranny, which he had shaken off; and therefore they proposed a Conference between some Divines of both sides in order to an Agreement of Doctrine. The King was only concerned upon State Maxims, to keep up their League in Opposition to the Emperour; but they still press'd a Religious as well as a Civil League.

*An Act for  
suppressing  
the Monas-  
teries.*

After the Act of the six Articles, the Act for suppressing the Monasteries was brought in; and tho there were so many Abbots sitting in the House, none of them protested against it; ' By it no Monastery was suppressed, but only the Resignations  
' made

made or to be made, were confirmed; and the King's Right, founded either on their Surrenders, Forfeitures, or Attainders of Treason, was declared good in Law. Houses surrendred were to be managed by the Court of Augmentations; but those seized on by Attainders were to come to the Exchequer. All Persons except the Founders and Donors were to have the same Rights to the Lands, belonging to these Houses, that they had before this Act was made. All Deeds and Leases made for a Year before this, to the prejudice of these Houses were annulled; and all the Churches belonging to them, and formerly exempted, were put under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop, or of such as should be appointed by the King. This last *Proviso* has produced a great Mischief in this Church; for many that purchased Abby-Lands, had this Clause put in their Grants, that they should be the Visitors of the Churches, and by this they continue still exempted from the Episcopal Jurisdiction; and this has emboldened many to break out into great Scandals, which have been made use of by prejudiced Men to cast an Obloquy on the Church; tho' this Disorder proceeds only from the want of Authority in the Bishops to censure them. A Question was raised upon this Suppression, whether the Lands should have reverted to the Donors, or been escheated to the Crown. By a Judgment of the *Roman* Senate in *Theodosius's* time,

Book I.

1539.

time, all the Endowments of the Heathenish Temples were given to the *Fisc*, and tho the Heirs of the *Donors* pretended to them, yet it was said, that by the Gifts that their Ancestors made, they were totally alienated from them and their Heirs. When the Order of the Templers was suppressed, their Lands went to the Lord by an Escheat. This might seem reasonable in Endowments that were simple Gifts; without any Conditions: But the Grants to Religious Houses were of the nature of Covenants, given in consideration of the Masses, that were to be said for them and their Families; and therefore it was inferred, that when the Cheat of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory was discovered, and these Houses were suppress'd, then the Lands ought to revert to the Heirs of the *Donors*; and upon that account it was thought necessary to exclude them by a special *Proviso*.

*An Act  
for new  
Bisho-  
pricks.*

Another Bill was brought in, empowering the King to erect new Bishopricks by his Letters Patents; it was read three times in one day in the House of Lords. 'The Preamble set forth that the ill Lives of those that were called Religious, made it necessary to change thir Houses to better Uses, for teaching the Word of God, instructing of Children, educating of Clerks, relieving of old infirm People, the endowing of Readers for Greek, Latine, and Hebrew, mending of Highways, and the bettering the Condition of the Parish Priests; and for this end the King



‘ King was empowered to erect new Sees, Book I.  
 ‘ and to assign what Limits and Divisions,  
 ‘ and appoint them what Statutes he pleased. 1539.

I have seen the first Draught of this Preamble all written with the King's own Hand; and indeed he used extraordinary Care in correcting both Acts of Parliament and Proclamations with his own Hand: All Papers in matters of Religion, that were set out by publick Authority in this Reign, were revised by him, and in many places large Corrections are to be seen, made with his own Hand, which shew both his great Judgment in those Matters, and his extraordinary Application to Business; but as he was fond of his two acquired Titles, of *Defender of the Faith*, and *Supream Head of the Church*; and loved to shew that he did not carry them in vain; so there was nothing which he affected more, then to discover his Learning and Understanding in matters of Religion. He writ also a List of all the new Sees which he intended to found, which were *Waltham*, for *Essex*, *St. Albans*, for *Hartford*, another for *Bedfordshire* and *Buckinghamshire* out of the Monasteries of *Dunstable*, *Newenham*, and *Clowstown*; another for *Oxfordshire*, and *Berkshire*, out of the Rents of *Osney*, and *Tame*, one for *Northampton* and *Huntington*, out of *Peterborough*, one for *Middlesex* out of *Westminster*; one for *Leicester* and *Rutland*, out of *Leicester*; one for *Glostershire* out of *St. Peters* in *Gloster*; one for *Lancashire* out of

Book I. of *Fountain*, and the Arch-Deaconry of  
 1539. *Richmond*; one for *Suffolk* out of *Edmunds-*  
*bury*; one for *Stafford* and *Salop* out of  
*Shrewsbury*; one for *Nottingham* and *Darby*  
 out of *Welbeck*, *Wersop*, and *Thurgarton*;  
 and one for *Cornwall* out of the Repts of  
*Lanceston*, *Bodmyn*, and *Wardreth*: Over  
 these he writ *Bishopricks to be made*; and in  
 another part of the same Paper he writ  
*Places to be altered, which have Sees in them,*  
*and names* *Christ-Church in Canterbury*, *St.*  
*Swithins* and several others; a little under  
 that, he writ, *Places to be altered into Col-*  
*leges and Schools*, but mentions only *Barron*  
*upon Trent*. Neither *Chester* nor *Bristol* are  
 named here, tho' Episcopal Sees were after-  
 wards erected in them. The King had  
 formed a great Design of endowing many  
 Sees, and making many other noble Foun-  
 dations; yet the great Change that was  
 made in the Councils and Ministry before  
 this took Effect, made that only a small  
 part of that, which he now intended, was  
 accomplished. Another Act was brought  
 in, concerning the Obedience due to the  
 King's Proclamations, which set forth, 'That  
 ' great Exceptions had been made to the  
 ' Legality of the King's Proclamations, by  
 ' some who did not consider what a King  
 ' might do by his Royal Power; which the  
 ' King took very ill; and since many Oc-  
 ' casions called for speedy Remedies, and  
 ' could not admit of Delays till a Parliament  
 ' might be called; therefore it was enacted,  
 ' that such Proclamations as the King set  
 out

*An Act  
 for Pro-  
 clamati-  
 ons.*

out by Advice of his Council, with Pains upon Offenders, should be obeyed as if they were Acts of Parliaments; yet it was provided that no Laws nor Customs might be taken away by them, and that the Subjects should not suffer in their Estates, Liberties, or Persons, by them. If any offended against them, and fled out of the Kingdom, that was made *Treason*. It was also provided that if the King's Heirs should reign before they were of Age, the Proclamations set out by the Privy Council, should have the like force in Law. By this the Injunctions that had been given, or should be thereafter given, were now legally authorized. The Statute of Precedence past in this Parliament. The King's *Viceregent* was to take place of all after the Royal Family, and next him among the Clergy, came the two Arch-bishops, then the Bishops of *London* and *Duresme*; after them the Bishop of *Winchester*, as Prelate of the Garter, and all the other Bishops were to take place according to the Date of their Consecrations.

A Bill of Attainder past, not only confirming the Sentences that had been given against the Marquess of *Exeter*, the Lord *Mountacute*, and others, that had been condemned at common Law; but of some that were of new attainted without a Trial: of these some were absent, and others were in Prison; but it was not thought fit to bring them to make their Answers: The

*Some attainted without being heard.*

Book I. chief of these were the Marchionfes of *Exe-*  
*ter*, and the Countefs of *Sarum* (Mother to  
 1539. Cardinal *Pool* :) It was questioned whether  
 this could be done in Law or not. The  
 Judges delivered their Opinion, that it  
 was againſt natural Juſtice to condemn any  
 without hearing them; and that when the  
 Parliament proceeded as a Court, they  
 were obliged to follow the common Rules  
 of Equity; but if they did otherwiſe, yet  
 ſince they were the Supream Court of the  
 Nation, whatſoever they did, could not be  
 reverſed. The latter part of this was laid  
 hold on, and the former was neglected,  
 ſo that Act paſt. This Council was aſcrib-  
 ed to *Cromwell*, and he being the firſt that  
 was executed upon ſuch a Sentence, gave  
 occaſion to many to obſerve the Juſtice of  
 God, in making ill Councils turn upon thoſe  
 that gave them.

*The King's*  
*Kindneſs*  
 to *Cran-*  
*mer.*

When the Parliament was prorogued,  
 the King ordered *Cranmer* to put in writing  
 all the Arguments he had uſed againſt the  
 fix Articles, and bring them to him. He  
 ſent alſo both *Cromwell* and the Duke of  
*Norfolk* to dine with him, and to aſſure  
 him of the Conſtancy of his Kindneſs to  
 him. At Table they expreſſed great  
 Eſteem for him, and acknowledged that  
 he had oppoſed the fix Articles with ſo  
 much Learning and Gravity, that thoſe  
 who differed moſt from him, could not but  
 value him highly for it; and that he need-  
 ed not to fear any thing from the King:  
*Cromwell* ſaid the King made that difference

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between



between him and the rest of his Council; that he would not so much as hearken to any Complaints that were made of him; and made a Parallel between him and Cardinal *Wolfey*; the one lost his Friends by his Pride, and the other gained on his Enemies, by his Humility and Mildness: the Duke of *Norfolk* said he could speak best of the Cardinal, having been his *Man* so long: this heated *Cromwell*, who answered, that he never liked his Manners, and tho *Wolfey* had intended if he had been chosen Pope, to have carried him with him to *Italy*; yet he was resolved not to have gone, tho he knew the Duke intended to have gone with him. Upon this the Duke of *Norfolk* swore he lied, and gave him foul Language. This put all the Company in great Disorder: They were in some sort reconciled, but were never hearty Friends after this. *Cranmer* put his Reasons against the six Articles together, and gave them to his Secretary to be written out in a fair Hand for the King's use: but he crossing the *Thames* with the Book in his Bosom, met with such an Adventure on the Water as might have at another time sent the Author to the Fire. There was a Bear baited near the River, which breaking loose, run into it, and happened to overturn the Boat in which *Cranmer's* Secretary was, and he being in danger of his Life, took no care of the Book, which falling from him floated on the River, and was taken up by the Bear-Ward, and put

Book I. in the hand of a Priest that stood by, to see what it might contain; he presently found it was a Confutation of the six Articles, and so told the Bear-ward that the Author of it would certainly be hanged. So when the Secretary came to ask for it, and said it was the Arch-bishop's Book; the other that was an obstinate Papist, refused to give it, and reckoned that now *Cranmer* would be certainly ruined: but the Secretary acquainting *Cromwell* with it, he called for him next day, and chid him severely for presuming to keep a Privy-Counsellours Book, and so he took it out of his Hands: thus *Cranmer* was delivered out of this Danger. *Shaxton* and *Latimer* not only resigned their Bishopricks, but being presented for some Words spoken against the six Articles, they were put in Prison, where they lay till a recantation discharged the one, and the King's Death set the other at liberty. There were about 500 others presented on the same account, but upon the Intercessions of *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, and others, they were set at liberty, and there was a stop put to the further Execution of the Act till *Cromwell* fell.

*Bishops  
hold their  
Sees at the  
King's  
Pleasure.*

The Bishops of the Popish Party took strange Methods to insinuate themselves into the King's Confidence, for they took out Commissions by which they acknowledged, 'That all Jurisdiction, Civil and 'Ecclesiastical, flowed from the King, and 'that they exercised it only at the King's 'Courtesy: and as they had of his Bounty,

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'so

1539.

so they would be ready to deliver it up when he should be pleased to call for it; and therefore the King did empower them in his stead, to ordain, give Institution, and do all the other parts of the Episcopal Function, which was to last during his Pleasure: and a mighty charge was given them to ordain none but Persons of great Integrity, good Life, and well learned; for since the Corruption of Religion flowed from ill Pastors, so the Reformation of it was to be expected chiefly from good Pastors. By this they were made indeed the King's Bishops: in this *Bonner* set an Example to the rest, but it does not appear that *Cranmer* took out any such Commission all this Reign.

Now came on the total Dissolution of the Abbies, 57 surrenders were made this Year, of which 30 are yet extant; of these, <sup>All the Monasteries suppressed.</sup> 37 were Monasteries, and 20 were Nunneries; and among them 12 were Parliamentary Abbies; which were in all 28, *Abington, St. Albans, St. Austin's Canterbury, Battell, St. Bennets in the Holm, Bardeny, Cirencester, Colchester, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmundsbury, Evesham, Glassenbury, Gloucester, Hide, Malmsbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramsey, Reading, Selby, Shrewsbury, Tavestock, Tewkesbury, Thorney, Waltham, Westminster, and Winchelcomb.* When all had thus resigned, Commissioners were appointed by the Court of Augmentations to seize on the Revenues and Goods belonging to these Houses, to establish the

Book I. Pensions that were to be given to every  
 one that had been in them, and to pull  
 15. 9. down the Churches, or such other parts of  
 the Fabrick, as they thought superfluous,  
 and to sell the Materials of them. When  
 this was done, others began to get Hospi-  
 tals to be surrendred to the King; *Thirleby*  
 being Master of St. *Thomas* Hospital in  
*Southwark*, was the first that set an Exem-  
 ple to the rest; he was soon after made a  
 Bishop, and turned with every Change  
 that followed, till Queen *Elizabeth* came to  
 the Crown, and then he refused to comply  
 tho he had gone along with all the Chan-  
 ges that were made in King *Edward's* time.  
 The valued Rents of the Abby-Lands as  
 they were then let, was 132607. *l.* 6 *s.* 4 *d.*  
 but they were worth above ten times so  
 much in true value. The King had now  
 in his hand the greatest Advantage that  
 ever King of *England* had, both for en-  
 riching the Crown, and making Royal  
 Foundations. But such was his Easiness to  
 his Courtiers, and his Lavishness, that all  
 this melted away in a few Years, and his  
 Designs were never accomplished; he in-  
 tended to have founded 18 new Bishop-  
 ricks, but he founded only six: Other  
 great Projects did also become abortive.  
 In particular one that was designed by  
 Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, which was a Semi-  
 nary for States-men: he proposed the  
 erecting a House for Persons of Quality,  
 or of extraordinary Endowments, for  
 the study of the Civil Law, and of the  
 Latine



Latine and French Tongues; of whom, Book I.  
 some were to be sent with every Amba-  
 sadour beyond Sea, to be improved in  
 the Knowledg of Forreign Affairs, in  
 which they should be imployed as they  
 grew capable of them: And others were  
 to be set to work to write the History  
 of the Transactions abroad, and of Affairs  
 at home. This was to supply one Loss that  
 was like to follow on the Fall of Abbies;  
 for in most of them there was kept a  
 Chronicle of the Times. These were  
 written by Men that were more credulous  
 than judicious; and so they are often  
 more particular in the recital of Trifles,  
 than of important Affairs, and an invin-  
 cible Humour of lying, when it might  
 raise the Credit of their Order or House,  
 runs through all their Manuscripts. All  
 the Ground that *Cranmer* gained this Year,  
 in which there was so much lost, was a  
 Liberty that all private Persons might  
 have Bibles in their Houses; the managing  
 of which was put in *Cromwell's* Hands,  
 by a special Patent: *Gardiner* opposed it  
 vehemently, and built much on this, that  
 without Tradition it was impossible to  
 understand the meaning of the Scriptures;  
 and one day before the King, he challen-  
 ged *Cranmer* to shew any Difference be-  
 tween the Scriptures and the Apostles  
 Canons. It is not known how *Cranmer*  
 managed the Debate, but the Issue of it  
 was this, The King judged in his Fa-  
 vours, and said, He was an old experi-  
 enced

Book I.

1539.

enced Captain, and ought not to be troubled by fresh Men and Novices. The King was now resolved to marry again, and both the Emperour and the King of *France* proposed Matches to him, but they came to no Effect. The Emperour endeavoured by all means possible to separate the King from the Princes of the *Smalcaldick* League; and the Act of the six Articles had done that already in a great measure; for they complained much of the King's Severity in those Points, which were the principal Parts of their Doctrine; such as Communion in both kinds, Private Masses, and the Marriage of the Clergy. *Gardiner* studied to animate the King much against them; he often told him, it was below his Dignity to suffer dull *Germans* to dictate to him: and he suggested that they who would not acknowledge the Emperours Supremacy in the matters of Religion, could not be hearty Friends to the Authority which the King had assumed in them. But the *Germans* did not look on the Emperour as their Sovereign, but only as the *Head* of the Empire; and they did believe that every Prince in his Dominions, and the Diet for the whole Empire, had sufficient Authority for making Laws in Ecclesiastical Affairs; but what other Considerations could not induce the King to, was like to be more powerfully carried on by the Match with *Anne* of *Cleve*, which was now set on foot.

There

There had been a Treaty between her Father and the Duke of *Lorrain*, for the Prince of *Lorrain* and her; but it had gone no farther then a Contract between the Fathers. *Hans Holbin*, the Famous Painter of that Age, took her Picture very much to her Advantage; for the King never liked the Original so well as he had done the Picture. The Duke of *Saxe* diswaded the Match, because the King was going backward in the matter of the Reformation: but *Cromwell* set it on vigorously. It was said, the Lady had great Charms in her Person; but she could speak no Language but Dutch, which the King understood not; nor was she bred to Musick: And she had a stiffness in her Breeding, which was not at all accommodated to the King's Inclinations. The Match was at last agreed on; and in the end of *December* she was brought over. The King was impatient, and so went *incognito* to *Rochester*, but was struck when he saw her. There was a Rudeness in her, which did not at all please him: He swore they had brought over a *Flanders Mare* to him; and took up an incurable Aversion to her. He resolved to break the Match if it were possible; but his Affairs made the Friendship of the *German Princes*, to be then very necessary to him; so that he did not think it advisable to put any Affront on the Dukes of *Saxe* and *Cleve*, her Brother, and her Brother in Law. The Emperour had at this time made a hasty Journey through *France*; and

Book I.  
1539.  
A Treaty  
for a  
Match  
with Ann  
of Cleve.

Francis

Book I.

1540.

*Francis* and he had an Interview, where as the King was informed a Project was laid down against him, which was chiefly set on by the Pope. *Francis* was thinking how to take *Calais*, and the other places the King had in *France*, from him; it had been also easy for him to have engaged the King of *Scotland* against him: And the People in the North were thought to retain their former Disposition, to rise still; so that a War made on the King in such Circumstances, was like to find him at a great Disadvantage. This made the King more tender of offending the *Germans*. But he tried if that Precontract with the Duke of *Lorrains's* Son, could furnish him with a fair Excuse to break the Match. The King expressed the great Trouble he was in, both to *Cromwel*, and many of his other Servants; and one of them pleasantly told him, that Subjects had this Advantage over Princes, that they chose Wives for themselves, whereas Princes were obliged to take such as were brought them. But nothing could be built on that Precontract, which was only an Agreement between the Fathers, their Children being under Age; and that was afterwards annulled and broken by the Parents. So *Cranmer*, and *Tonstall* being required to give their Opinions as Divines, said, there was nothing in it to hinder the King's Marrying the Lady.

*The King  
marries  
her, but  
never  
liked her.*

On the the 6th of *January* the King Married her; but expressed his dislike of her  
so



so visibly, that all about him took notice of it: And the day after that he told *Cromwell* that he had not consummated his Marriage, and he believed he should never do it: He suspected she was not a Virgin; and she had ill Smells about her; so that his Aversion to her was encreased to such a Degree, that he believed he should never be able to change it. *Cromwell* did what he could to overcome these Inclinations; but that was not to be done: And tho the King lived five Months with her, and lay often in the Bed with her, yet his Aversion to her rather encreased than abated. She seemed little concerned at it, and expressed a great readiness to concur in every thing, that might disengage him from a Marriage that was so unacceptable to him. Instruments were brought over, to shew that the Contract between her and the Prince of *Lorrain*, was void: But they took some Advantage, because it was not declared whether the Contract was in the Words of the Present, or of the Future Tense.

In *April* there was a Session of Parliament, and at the opening of it, as the Lord Chancellour declared the matters relating to the State, for which the King had called them: So the Vicegerent spake to them concerning the matters of Religion: He told them there was nothing which the King desired so much as an entire Union among all his Subjects; but some Incendiaries opposed it as much as he promoted it;

Book I.  
1540.

*A New  
Parliament.*

Book I. it; and between the rashness on the one  
 ~~~~~ hand, and Inveterate Superstition on the  
 1540. other, great Dissentions had arisen. These  
 were inflamed by the reproachful names  
 of *Papist* and *Heretick*: And tho they  
 had now the Word of God in all their  
 hands, yet they studied rather to justify  
 their Passions out of it, than to govern  
 their Lives by it. In order to the re-  
 moving this, the King resolved to set forth  
 an Exposition of the Doctrine of Christ,  
 without any corrupt Mixtures; and to re-  
 tain such Ceremonies as might be of good  
 use; and that being done, he was resolv-  
 ed to punish all Transgressours, of what side  
 soever they might be: For that end, he had  
 appointed the two Archbishops and the Bi-  
 shops of *London, Duresm, Winchester, Rochester,*  
*Hereford, and St. Davids*; and 11 Divines,  
*Thirleby, Robertson, Cox, Day, Oglethorp,*  
*Redmayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symons,*  
*Robins, and Tresham,* for settling the Do-  
 ctrine. And the Bishops of *Bath and Wells,*  
*Ely, Sarum, Chichester, Worcester, and*  
*Landaff,* for the Ceremonies. These Com-  
 mittees for Religion, sat as often as the  
 Affairs of the Parliament could allow of.  
 Two days after the Parliament met, *Crom-*  
*well* was made Earl of *Essex*, which shews  
 it was not the King's Dislike of the Queen  
 that wrought his Ruine, otherwise he had  
 not now raised his Title.

*The*  
*Knights of*  
*St. John*  
*suppressed.* A Bill was brought in to the Parliament  
 for suppressing the Knights of *St. John* of  
*Jerusalem.* These were at first only an Ho-  
 spital,

spital, for entertaining the Pilgrims that went to visit the Holy Grave : And after that, they became an Order of Knights ; and they and the Knights-Templars conducted and guarded the Pilgrims. It was thought for some Ages, one of the highest Expression of Devotion to Christ, to go and visit the places where he was crucified, buried, and ascended to Heaven: And it was look'd on as highly Meritorious, to go and fight for recovering the Holy-Land, out of the hands of Infidels ; so that almost every one that died, either vowed to go to the Holy War, or left somewhat to such as should go. If they recovered, they bought off their Vow, by giving some Lands for the Entertainment of those Knights. There were great Complaints made of the Templars ; but whether it was their Wealth that made them a desirable Prey, or their Guilt that drew Ruine on them, is not certain. They were condemned in a Council, and all of them that could be found, were cruelly put to Death. But the other Order was still continued ; and being beaten out of *Judea*, they settled at *Rhodes*, out of which they were lately driven ; and were now settled in *Malta*. They were under a great Master, who depended on the Pope and the Emperour. But some they could not be brought to surrender of their own accord, as others had done ; it was necessary to suppress them by Act of Parliament. Another House which they had in *Ireland* was also suppressed, and

Book I. and Pensions were reserved for the Priors and Knights. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of *May*, the Parliament was Prorogued to the 25<sup>th</sup>; a Vote having past, that the Bills should continue in the State they were in.

Cromwel's  
Fall.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of *June*, there was a sudden turn at Court, for the Duke of *Norfolk* arrested *Cromwel* of High Treason, and sent him Prisoner to the Tower. He had many Enemies: The meanness of his Birth made the Nobility take it ill, to see the Son of a Black-Smith made an Earl, and have the Garter given him; besides his being Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain of *England*, Lord Vicegerent; and a little while before, he had also the Mastership of the Rolls. All the Popish Clergy hated him violently: They imputed the Suppression of Monasteries, and the Injunctions that were laid on them, chiefly to his Counsels: And it was thought that it was mainly by his means that the King and the Emperour continued to be in such ill Terms. The King did now understand, that there was no agreement like to be made between the Emperour and *Francis*, for it stuck at the matter of the Dutchy of *Milan*; in which neither of them would yield to the other; and the King was sure, they would both court his Friendship in case of a War; and this made him less concerned for the Favour of the *German* Princes. So, now *Cromwel*'s Counsels became unacceptable: With this a secret Reason concurred. The King did not only hate the Queen, but was now come to be  
in



in Love with *Katherine Howard*, Neece to the Duke of *Norfolk*; which both raised his Interest, and deprest *Cromwel*, who had made the former Match. The King was also willing to cast upon him all the Errours that had been committed of late, and by making him a Sacrifice, he hoped he should regain the Affections of his People. The King had also Informations brought him, That he secretly encouraged those that opposed the six Articles, and discouraged those who went about the Execution of it. His Fall came so suddenly, that he had not the least Apprehension of it before the Storm brake on him. He had the common Fate of all disgraced Ministers; his Friends forsook him, and his Enemies insulted over him; only *Cranmer* stuck to him; and wrote earnestly to the King in his Favours. 'He said he found that he had always loved the King above all things; and had served him with such Fidelity and Success, that he believed no King of *England* had ever a faithfuller Servant: And he wished the King might find such a Councillour, who both could, and would, serve him as he had done. So great and generous a Soul had *Cranmer*, that was not turned by changes in his Friends Fortunes; and would venture on the displeasure of so Imperious a Prince; rather than fail in the Duties of Friendship. But the King was now resolved to ruine *Cromwel*, and that unjust Practice of Attainting, without hearing the Parties Answer for

Book I. for themselves, which he had promoted too much before, was now turned upon himself. He had such Enemies in the House of Lords, that the Bill of Attainder was dispatched in two days, being read twice in one day. *Cranmer* was absent, and no other would venture to speak for him. But he met with more Justice in the House of Commons; for it stuck ten days there. And in Conclusion, a new Bill was drawn against him, and sent up to the Lords, to which they consented; and it had the Royal Assent.

*His At-  
tainder.*

‘ In it they set forth, That tho the King  
‘ had raised him from a base State, to great  
‘ Dignities; Yet it appeared by many Wit-  
‘ nesses, that were Persons of Honour, that  
‘ he had been the most Corrupt Traitor  
‘ that ever was known: That he had set  
‘ many at Liberty that were condemned,  
‘ or suspected of Misprision of Treason:  
‘ That he had given Licences for tran-  
‘ sporting out of the Kingdom things pro-  
‘ hibited by Proclamation: And had granted  
‘ many Passports without search made:  
‘ That he had said, *he was sure of the King,*  
‘ That he had dispersed many Erroneous  
‘ Books, contrary to the Belief of the Sa-  
‘ crament: And had said, That every  
‘ Man might Administer it as well as a  
‘ Priest: That he had licensed many  
‘ Preachers suspected of *Heresy*: And had  
‘ ordered many to be discharged that were  
‘ committed on that account; and had dis-  
‘ charged all Informers: That he had  
many

1540

many Hereticks about him: That above a Year before, he had said, The preaching of *Barns* and others, was good: And that he would not turn, tho the King did turn; but if the King turned, he would fight in Person against him, and all that turned: And drawing out his Dagger, he wisht that might pierce him to the Heart, if he should not do it; he had also said, If he lived a year or two longer, it should not be in the King's Power to hinder it. He had likewise been found guilty of great Oppression and Bribery: And when he heard, that some Lords were taking Counsel against him, he had threatned, that he would raise great stirrs in *England*: For these things, he was Attainted both of High Treason and Heresy. A Proviso was added, for securing the Church of *Wells*, of which he had been Dean.

This was lookt on, as very hard Measure. It was believed, That he had at least Verbal Orders from the King, for the Licences and Orders that were complained of; and perhaps he could have shewed some in Writing, if he had been heard to make his Answers. Bribery seemed to be cast on him, only to render him odious; but no Particulars were mentioned. Nor was it credible, That he could have spoken such Words of the King, as were alledged, especially when he was in the height of his Favour; and if he had spoken them above a Year before, it is not to be imagined that they could have been so long

*Censures  
past upon  
it.*

R

kept

Book I. kept secret; and what was said of his drawing out a Dagger, look'd like a design to affix an overt Act to them.

1540.  
*The King's  
Marriage  
annulled.*

This being done, The King went on to move for a Divorce. An Address was moved to be made to him by the Lords, that he would suffer his Marriage to be examined. *Cranmer* and others were sent down to desire the Concurrence of the Commons; and they ordered 20 of their number to go along with the Lords, who went all in a body to the King. He granted their desire, the matter being concerted before. So a Commission was sent to the Convocation, to discuss it: *Gardiner* opened it to them; and they appointed a Committee for the Examination of Witnesses. The Substance of the whole Evidence amounted to these Particulars; That the matter of the Precontract with the Prince of *Lorraine*, was not fully cleared; and it did not appear, if it was made by the Queen; or whether it was in the Words of the present time, or not. That the King had married her against her Will; and had not given an inward and compleat Consent; and that he had never consummated the Marriage; so that they saw he could have no Issue by the Queen. Upon these grounds the whole Convocation with one consent annulled the Marriage, and declared both Parties free. This was the grossest piece of Compliance that the King had from his Clergy in his whole Reign: For as they knew that there was nothing in the

\*

pre-



pretended Precontract ; so by voiding the Marriage , because the Consent was not internal and free, they made a most pernicious Precedent for breaking all publick Treaties ; for none can know Men's Hearts ; it would be easy for every one to pretend that he had not given a perfect Consent ; and that being allowed, there could be no Confidence nor safety among Men any more. And in the Process for the King's first Divorce, they had laid it down as a Principle, that a Marriage was compleat, tho it were never consummated. But in a Word, the King was resolved to be rid of the Queen ; and the Clergy were resolved not to offend him : And they rather sought out Reasons to give a colour to their Sentence, then past it on the force of those Reasons. *Cromwel* was required to send a Declaration of all he knew concerning the Marriage, which he did ; but ended in these most abject Words, 'Written with the heavy Heart, and trembling Hand, of your Highness's most heavy, and most miserable Prisoner, and poor Slave, *Tho. Cromwel* : and under his Subscription he wrote, Most Sacred Prince, I cry for, *Mercy, Mercy, Mercy*. The Judgment of the Convocation was reported to the House of Lords by *Cranmer*, and the Reasons were opened by *Gardiner*. They were sent down to the Commons to give them the same account ; and both Houses were satisfied with it. Next day, some Lords were sent to the Queen, who had retired

Book I. to *Richmond*: They told her, The King was resolved to declare her his adopted Sister, and to settle 4000 *l.* a Year on her, if she would consent to it; which she cheerfully embraced; and it being left to her choice, either to live in *England*, or to return to her Brother; She preferred the former. They prest her to write to her Brother, that all this matter was done with her good Will; that the King used her, as a Father; and that therefore he, and the other Allies, should not take this ill at his hands. She was a little averse to this, but was prevailed on to do it. When things were thus prepared, the Act confirming the Judgment of the Convocation, past, without any Opposition. An Act past, mitigating one Clause in the Act of the six Articles; by which, the pains of Death for the Marriage or Incontinence of the Clergy, were changed into a Forfeiture of their Goods and Benefices. Another Act past, Authorizing those Committees of Bishops and Divines that had been named by the King, both for the Doctrine and Ceremonies, to go on in it; and appointing, that what should be agreed on by them, and Published with the King's Approbation, should bind the Subjects as much as if every Particular in it had been enumerated in that Act, any Law or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding: But a Proviso was added, That nothing might be done by them contrary to the Laws then in force: Which Contradiction

in the Provisos, seems to have been put in on design, to keep all Ecclesiastical Proceedings under the Inspection of the Secular Courts, since they are the only Expounders of Acts of Parliament. Another Act past, That no Pretence of a Precontract should be made use of to annul a Marriage duly Solemnized and Consummated : And that no Degrees of Kindred, but those enumerated in the Law of *Moses*, might hinder a Marriage. This last was added, To enable the King to marry *Katherine Howard*, that was Cousin German to *Ann Boleyn*, which was one of the Degrees prohibited by the Canon Law ; but the reason of the former part is not known. It directly condemns the King's Divorce of *Ann Boleyn*, grounded on a pretended Precontract.

The Province of *Canterbury* gave the King a Subsidy of 4 s. in the Pound, to be payed in two Years, with a Preamble of high Acknowledgments of their Happiness under his Protection. A Subsidy was also asked of the Laity, but in the House of Commons it was much opposed : Many said they had given the King the Abbey-Lands, in hopes that no Subsidies should have been any more demanded; and it shewed a strange Profuseness, that now within a Year after that, a Subsidy was demanded. But it was answered, That the King had been at great charge in fortifying his Coasts ; and in keeping up such Leagues beyond Sea, as preserved the Nation in

Book I. safety; a Tenth and four *15ths* were granted. Several Bills of Attainder were past. And in Conclusion, the King sent a General Pardon, out of which, *Cromwel*, and divers others were excepted; and then the Parliament was dissolved. *Cromwel's* mean Addresses could not preserve him: So he was executed on the 28 of *July*. He thanked God for bringing him to die in that manner, which was just, on the account of his 'Sins against God, and his Offences against 'his Prince. He declared that he doubted 'of no Article of the Catholick Faith, nor 'of any Sacrament of the Church. He 'said, He had been seduced, but now he 'died in the Catholick Faith; and denied 'he had supported the Preachers of ill Opinions. He desired all their Prayers; and prayed very fervently for himself; and thus did he end his days.

*Cromwel's  
Death.*

He rose meerly by the strength of his Natural Parts; for his Education was suitable to his mean Extraction: Only he had all the New Testament in Latin, by Heart. He carried his Greatness with Extraordinary Moderation; and fell rather under the weight of Popular *Odium*, than Guilt. At his Death he mixed none of the Superstitions of the Church of *Rome* with his Devotions: So it was said, that he used the Word, *Catholick Faith*, in its true sense, and in Opposition to the Novelties of the Church of *Rome*: Yet his Ambiguous way of expressing himself, made the Papists say, that he died repenting of his

*Herefy.*



Hereſy : But the Proteſtants ſaid that he died in the ſame Perſwaſions in which he lived. With him fell the Office of the King's *Vicegerent*, and none after him have aſpired to that Character, that proved ſo fatal to him who firſt carried it. It was believed that the King lamented his Death when it was too late; and the Miſeries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Family, were look'd on as Strokes from Heaven on them, for their cruel proſecuting this unfortunate Miniſter. With his Fall, the Progreſs of the Reformation ſtopt; for *Cranmer* could never gain much Ground after this, and indeed many hoped that he ſhould be quickly ſent after *Cromwell*; ſome complained of him in the Houſe of Commons, and Informations were brought the King, that the chief Encouragement that the Hereticks had, came from him.

The Eccleſiaſtical Committees employ- ed by the King, were now at work, and gave the laſt finiſhing to a Book formerly prepared, but at this time corrected and explained in many Particulars. They began with the Explanation of *Faith*, which according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, was thought an implicit believing whatever the Church propoſed : But the Reformers made it the chief Subject of their Books and Sermons, to perſwade People to believe in Chriſt, and not in the Church; and made great uſe of thoſe Places in which it was ſaid, *That Chriſtians are juſtified*

*A Book of Religion ſet out by Biſhops.*

Book I.

1540.

*by Faith only*: tho some explained this in such a manner, that it gave their Adversaries Advantages to charge them that they denied the necessity of Good Works; but they all taught that tho they werenot necessary to Justification, yet they were necessary to Salvation. They differed also in their Notion of Good Works: The Church of *Rome* taught, that the Honour done to God in his Images, or to the Saints in their Shrines and Relicks, or to the Priests, were the best sort of Good Works: Whereas the Reformers prest Justice and Mercy most, and discovered the Superstition of the other. The Opinion of the Merit of Good Works, was also so highly raised, that many thought they purchased Heaven by them. This the Reformers did also correct, and taught the People to depend meerly upon the Death and Intercession of Christ. Others moved subtiller Questions, As whether Obedience was an essential part of Faith, or only a Consequent of it? This was a Nicety scarce becoming Divines, that built only on the Simplicity of the Scriptures, and condemned the Subtilties of the Schools; and it was said, that Men of ill Lives abused this Doctrine, and thought that if they could but assure themselves that Christ died for them, they were safe enough.

*The Explanation  
of Faith.*

So now when they settled the Notion of *Faith*, they divided it into two sorts: The one was a Perswasion of the Truth of the Gospel; but the other carried with it

it

it a Submission to the Will of God ; and both Hope, Love, and Obedience belonged to it ; which was the Faith professed in Baptism, and so much extoll'd by St. Paul. It was not to be so understood as if it were a Certainty of our being predestinated, which may be only a Presumption ; since all God's Promises are made to us on Conditions ; but it was an entire receiving the whole Gospel according to our Baptismal Vows. *Cranmer* took great Pains to state this matter right ; and made a large Collection of many places, all written with his own Hand, both out of Antient and Modern Authors, concerning Faith, Justification and the Merit of Good Works ; and concluded with this, That our Justification was to be ascribed only to the Merits of Christ ; and that those who are justified must have Charity as well as Faith, but that neither of these was the meritorious Cause of Justification. After this was stated, they made next a large and full Explanation of the Apostles Creed with great Judgment, and many excellent practical Inferences ; the Definition they gave of the Catholick Church runs thus : ' It comprehended all Assemblies of Men in the whole World that received the Faith of Christ, who ought to hold an Unity of Love and Brotherly Agreement together, by which they became Members of the Catholick Church : After this they explained the seven Sacraments.

## Book I.

1540.

*And of  
the Sacra-  
ments.*

In opening these there were great Debates; for, as was formerly mentioned, the method used, was to open the Point enquired into by proposing many Queries, and every one was to give in his Answer to these, with the Reasons of it; and then others were appointed to make an Abstract of those things, in which they all either agreed or differed. The Original Papers relating to these Points are yet preserved, which shew with how great Consideration they proceeded in the Changes that were then made. *Cranmer* had at this time some particular Opinions concerning Ecclesiastical Offices; That they were delivered from the King, as other Civil Offices were, and that Ordination was not indispensibly necessary, and was only a Ceremony, that might be used or laid aside; but that the Authority was conveyed to Church-men only by the King's Commission; yet he delivered his Opinion in this matter with great Modesty, and he not only subscribed the Book in which the contrary Doctrine was established, but afterwards published it in a Book which he writ in King *Edward's* days, from whence it appears that he changed his Mind in this Particular. Baptism was explained as had been done formerly; Penance was made to consist in the Absolution of the Priests which had been formerly declared only to be desirable, where it could be had. In the Communion, both Transubstantiation, Private Masses, and Communion in one kind, were asserted: They asserted the Obligation of the



the Levitical Law about the Degrees of Book I.  
Marriage, and the Indissolubleness of that Bond. They set out the Divine Institution of Priests and Deacons; and that no Bishop had Authority over another: they made a long Excursion against the Pope's Pretensions, and for justifying the King's Supremacy. They said, Confirmation was instituted by the Apostles, and was profitable, but not necessary to Salvation: and they asserted extream Unction to have been commanded by the Apostles, for the Health both of Soul and Body. Then were the Ten Commandments explained, the second was added to the first, but the Words, *For I am the Lord thy God, &c.* were left out. It was declared, that no Godly Honour was to be done unto Images, and that they ought only to be revered, for their sakes whom they represented: therefore the preferring of one Image to another, and the making Pilgrimages and Offerings to them, was condemned; but the censuring them or kneeling before them was permitted; yet the People were to be taught that these things were done only to the Honour of God. Invocation of Saints, as Intercessors, was allowed, but immediate Addresses to them for the Blessings that were prayed for, was condemned. The strict rest from Labour on the seventh day, was declared to be Ceremonial; but it was necessary to rest from Sin, and Carnal Pleasure, and to follow Holy Duties. The other Commandments were explained in a  
very

Book I. very plain and practical way. Then was  
 ~~~~~ the Lord's Prayer explained, and it was  
 1540. asserted that the People ought only to pray  
 in their Vulgar Tongues, for exciting their  
 Devotion the more: The Angels Salutati-  
 on to the Virgin was also paraphrased,  
 They handled Free-will and defined it to  
 be a Power by which the Will guided by  
 Reason, did without constraint discern  
 and choose Good and Evil, the former by  
 the help of God's Spirit, and the latter of  
 it self. Grace was said to be offered to all  
 Men, but was made effectual by the Appli-  
 cation of the Free-will to it: and Grace  
 and Free-will did consist well together, the  
 one being added for the help of the other;  
 and therefore Preachers were warned not  
 to depress either of them too much, in order  
 to the Exaltation of the other. Men were  
 justified freely by the Grace of God, but that  
 was applied by Faith, in which both the  
 Fear of God, Repentance, and Amend-  
 ment of Life were included. All curious  
 reasonings about Predestination were con-  
 demned; for Men could not be assured of  
 their Election, but by feeling the Motions  
 of God's Holy Spirit appearing in a good  
 and a vertuous Life, and persevering in  
 that to the end. Good Works were ne-  
 cessary, which were not the Superstitious  
 Inventions of Monks and Friars, nor only  
 moral Good Works done by the Power of  
 Nature, but were the Works of Charity  
 flowing from a pure Heart and Faith un-  
 feigned: Fasting and the other Fruits of  
 Penance

Penance were also Good Works; but of Book I. an Inferiour Nature to Justice and the other Vertues: Good Works were meritorious, yet since they were wrought in Men by God's Spirit; all boasting was excluded. They ended with an account of Prayer for Souls departed, almost the same that was in the Articles published before. 1540.

The Book was writ in a plain and Masculine Stile, fit for weak Capacities, and yet strong and weighty: and the parts of it that related to Practice were admirable. To this they added a Preface, declaring the Care they had used in examining the Scriptures and Antient Doctors, out of whom they compiled this Book. The King added another Preface, in which he condemned the Hypocrisy and Superstition of one sort, and the Presumption of another sort; to correct both, he had ordered this Book to be made, and published: and he required his People to read and print it in their Hearts, and to pray to God to grant them the Spirit of Humility for receiving it aright: And he charged the Inferiour People to remember that their Office was not to teach, but to be taught, and to practise what they heard, rather than dispute about it. But this Preface was not added till two Years after the Book was put out; for it mentions the Approbation that was given to it in Parliament, and the Restraint that was put on reading the Scriptures, of which an account shall be given afterwards.

The

Book I. The Reformers were dissatisfied with many things in the Book, yet were glad to find the Morals of Religion so well opened; for the Purity of Soul, which that might effect, would dispose People to sound Opinions; many Superstitious Practices were also condemned, and the Gospel-Covenant was rightly stated. One Article was also asserted in it, which opened the way to a further Reformation; for every National Church was declared to be a compleat Body, with Power to reform Heresies, and do every thing that was necessary for preserving its own Purity, or governing its Members. The Popish Party thought they had recovered much Ground, that seemed lost formerly: They knew the Reformers would never submit to all things in this Book, which would alienate the King from them; but they were safe, being resolved to comply with him in every thing, and without doing that, it was like to be somewhat uneasy to live in *England*; for the King's Peevishness grew upon him with his Age. Now the Correspondence between the King and the *German* Princes fell upon the Change that was made in the Ministry, and a secret Treaty was set on foot between the King and the Emperour. All the Changes that the Committee appointed for the Ceremonies made, was only the Rasure of some Offices and Collects, and the setting out of a new Primer, with the Vulgar Devotions for the Common People: But the Changes were not so great, as that it was necessary



necessary to reprint the Missals or Breviaries; for the old Books were still made use of. Yet these Rasures were such, that in Queen *Mary's* time the old Books were all called in, and the Nation was put to the Charge of buying new ones, which was considerable, so great was the Number of the Books of Offices. Book I.  
1540.

The Popish Party studied now to engage the King into new Severities against the Reformers; the first Instances of these fell on three Preachers, *Barnes*, *Gerrard*, and *Ferome*, who had been early wrought on by *Luther's* Books. *Barnes* had during *Wolsey's* Greatness, reflected much on him in a Sermon which he preached at *Cambridge*; but *Gardiner* was then his Friend, and brought him off; he having abjured some Articles that were objected to him: yet upon new Complaints he was again put in Prison, but he made his Escape and fled to *Germany*; and became so considerable, that he was sent over to *England* by the King of *Denmark*, as Chaplain to his Ambassadors; but he went back again. The Bishop of *Hereford* meeting him at *Smalcald*, sent him over to *England*, with a special Recommendation to *Cromwell*: he was after that, much imployed in the Negotiations which the King had with the *Germans*; and had the misfortune to be the first that was sent with the Proposition for *Anne of Cleve*. In Lent this Year *Bonner* appointed those three to have their turns at *St. Paul's Cross*; *Gardiner* preached also there

Book I. there; and fell on Justification; which he  
 handled according to the Notions of the  
 Schools: But *Barnes* and the other two did  
 directly refute his Sermon, when it came to  
 their turns to preach, not without indecent  
 Reflections on his Person: This was repre-  
 sented to the King as a great Insolence, he be-  
 ing both a Bishop and a Privy Counsellour;  
 so the King commanded them to go and give  
 him Satisfaction: he seemed to carry the  
 matter with much Moderation; and readi-  
 ly forgave all that was personal, tho it was  
 believed that it stuck deep in him. In  
 Conclusion, they confessed their Indiscre-  
 tion, and promised for the future to be  
 more cautious, and renounced some Arti-  
 cles of which it was thought their Sermons  
 favoured; as that God was the Author of  
 Sin, that Good Works were not necessa-  
 ry to Salvation, and that Princes ought  
 not to be obeyed in all their just Laws.  
 Some other Niceties were in dispute con-  
 cerning Justification; but the King thought  
 these were not of such Consequence, that  
 it was necessary to make them abjure them.  
*Barnes* and his Friends were required to  
 preach a Recantation Sermon at the Spit-  
 tle; and to ask *Gardiner's* Pardon; but tho  
 they obeyed this, yet it was said that in  
 one place, they justified what they recan-  
 ted in another; at which the King was so  
 much provoked, that without hearing  
 them, he sent them to the *Tower*. At that  
 time *Cromwell* either could not protect  
 them, or would not interpose in a matter  
 which

which gave the King so great Offence. When the Parliament came, they were attainted of Heresy, without being brought to make their Answers: no particular Errors were objected to them, only they were condemned to be burnt as detestable Hereticks in general Words. In the same Act by which they were condemned: four other were attainted of Treason, for being confederated with *Reginald Pool*, and for intending to surprize *Calais*, and as there was a strange mixture in their Condemnation, so the like was in their Executions: for *Abel Featherston*, and *Powell*, that were attainted in the same Parliament for owning the Pope's Supremacy, were executed with them, and were coupled together in the Hurdles in which they were carried to *Smithfield*; the King in this affecting an extravagant Appearance of Impartiality in his Justice.

*Barnes* being tied to the Stake, went over the Articles of the Creed, and declared his Belief of them all; and that he abhorred the impious Opinions of some *German Anabaptists*. He asserted the necessity of Good Works, but ascribed Justification wholly to the Merits of Christ; he professed all due Reverence to the Saints; but said he saw no Warrant to pray for them; he asked the Sheriff and the People, if they knew for what they were condemned, and what Heresies they were accused of: but none made Answer; he prayed God to forgive all that sought their Death, and

Book I. in particular, *Gardiner*, if he had done it :  
 1540. then prayed for the King and the Prince,  
 and expressed his Loyalty to the King ;  
 that he believed all his just Laws were to  
 be obeyed for Conscience sake, and that in  
 no Case it was lawful to resist him : he sent  
 some Desires to the King, as that he would  
 apply the Abby-Lands to good Uses, and  
 the Relief of his poor Subjects ; that he  
 would punish the Contempt of Marriage  
 that was so common, and would put a stop  
 to the Liberty many took of casting off  
 their Wives, and living in Whoredom ;  
 that Swearers might be punished, and that  
 since the King had begun to set forth the  
 Christian Religion, that he would go on  
 with it ; for a great deal remained yet to  
 be done : he asked the Forgiveness of all  
 People whom he might have at any time  
 offended, and so turned and prepared himself  
 for Death : then the other two spoke to  
 the same purpose ; they declared their  
 Faith, and exhorted the People to a good  
 Life, and mutual Love ; and they all pray-  
 ed and embraced one another ; after that,  
 the Fire was set to. The Constancy they  
 expressed, together with the Gentleness of  
 their Deportment towards their Enemies,  
 made great Impressions on the Spectators,  
 and cast a heavy Imputation on *Gardiner*,  
 as the Procurer of their Deaths, tho he justi-  
 fied himself in an Apology which he prin-  
 ted ; in which he denied any other Accession  
 to it, but giving his Vote to the Bill of At-  
 tainder. *Bonner* began now to shew himself in  
 \*



his own Colours : He had courted *Cromwell* more than any Person whatsoever ; yet the very day after his Disgrace, he shewed his Ingratitude; for *Grafton* that had printed the Bible, and was much in *Cromwell's* Favour upon that account, meeting *Bonner*, expressed his Sorrow for *Cromwell's* being sent to the *Tower* ; but the other answered, that it had been good he had been there much sooner : *Grafton* saw his Error in speaking so freely, and went from him : but some Verses being printed in *Cromwell's* Praise ; *Bonner* informed the Council what *Grafton* had said to him, and so thought it was probable he had printed them, yet he had so many Friends that he was let go. He procured many to be indicted upon the Act of the six Articles ; but an Order came from the King to stop further Proceedings ; yet he pick'd out one Instance which did equally discover his brutal Cruelty, and his want of Judgment. One *Mekins* not above fifteen Years old, had said somewhat against the Corporal Presence, and in Commendation of Dr. *Barnes* : The Witnesses differed in their Evidence, one swore he had said the Sacrament was only a Ceremony ; the other swore he had said it was only a Signification : so two Grand Juries returned an *Ignoramus* on the Bill ; upon which he fell into a fit of Cursing and violent Rage, and he made the second Grand Jury go aside and consider better of it, they being terrified, found the Bill, and he was condemned to be burnt ; but hoping to be pre-

Book I. served by what he should say at the Stake; he railed at *Barnes*, and praised *Bonner* much: yet that did not save him. Two were burnt at *Salisbury*, and two at *Lincoln*, upon the same Statute; besides great Numbers that were put in Prison.

*New Sees  
founded.*

In the end of this Year, the King began to endow the new Bishopricks: *Westminster* was the first, in which he endowed a Bishoprick, a Deanry, 12 Prebendaries, a Quire, and other Officers. The Year after this, he endowed *Chester*, *Glocester*, and *Peterborough*; but in these Cathedrals he only endowed six Prebendaries; two Years after he likewise endowed *Oxford* and *Bristol*. The Foundations had Preambles are almost the same with that of the Act of Parliament that empowered him to erect them; he promoted the Bishops to those Sees by a special Writ; tho that was to go thereafter in the way of Election, as it was in the other Sees: he also converted the Priories of *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Duresme*, *Worcester*, *Ely*, *Rochester*, and *Carlisle*, into Collegiate Churches, consisting of Deans and Prebendaries. But as all this came much far short of what the King had at first intended; so the Channel in which those Foundations run, differed much from what *Cranmer* had projected, whose Interest was so low at Court, that his Opinion was not now regarded as it had been formerly. He intended to have restored the Cathedrals to what they had been at first, to be Colleges and Nurseries for the Diocess, and to have set up Readers of the

\*

Learned

Learned Tongues, and of Divinity, in them, that so a considerable number of young Clerks might have been trained up under the Bishop's Eye, both in their Studies, and in a Course of Devotion; to be by him, put afterwards in Livings, according to their Merit and Improvements. The want of such Houses for the strict Education of those who are to serve in the Church, has been the occasion of many fatal Consequences since that time, by the Scandals which Men initiated to the Sacred Functions, before they were well prepared for them, have given the World. The Popish Party beyond Sea censured these Endowments, both as being a very defective Restitution of the Lands that had been invaded, and as an Invasion on the Spiritual Authority, when the King divided Diocesses, and removed Churches from one Jurisdiction and put them under another. To which it was answered, That as their Practices against the King had put him to such a charge, that he could not execute what he at first intended; so both the Roman Emperours, and other Christian Kings, had regulated and divided the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and made Primates and Patriarchs as they pleased. *Ely* in *England*, was taken out of *Lincoln*, only by the King and his Parliament; tho *P. Nicolaus* did officiously send a Confirmation of it, that being an Art of the Papacy to offer Confirmations unsought; and afterwards to found a Right on such a Precedent: So that the

Book I.

1540.

Book I. receiving a Confirmation, was made to  
 (~~~~~) paſs, for an acknowledgment of an Authority in that See to grant it; upon which  
 1540. the Popes afterwards pretended, that ſuch things could not be done without their conſent. Here the Series of the King's Advances towards a Reformation, ends; what he did after this, was by Starts, backwards or forwards, as the humour took him: Nor was he ſteady in his Councils in State-Affairs: He had no Mi- niſter about him, that had an Aſcendent over him. Sickneſs and Years increaſed his Imperious Temper; ſo that his Coun- ſellors had a hard task to pleaſe him, and many Errours were committed by him.

1541.  
*The Bible  
 ſet up in  
 Churches.*

A new Impreſſion of the Bible was at this time finiſhed: And the King required all Pariſhes to provide one of them by the next *All-hallowtide*, under the pain of 40 s. a Month after that, till they had got one. The People were alſo charged not to diſpute about it, nor to diſturb Divine Service by reading it during the Maſs; but to read it humbly and reverently for their Inſtruction and Edification. Six of theſe were ſet up in divers Places of *St. Pauls*: But *Bonner* being afraid of the Miſchief they might do, poſted up near them an Admo- nition to the People, That none ſhould read them with vain Glory, and corrupt Affections, or draw Multitudes about them when they read them. But great numbers gathered about thoſe that read; and ſuch as had good Voices, uſed to be reading them



them aloud a great part of the Day. Many set their Children to School, and when they had learn'd to read, they carri'd them to Church to read the Bibles ; some began likewise to argue from them, particularly against taking away the Chalice in the Communion, and the Worship in an unknown Tongue. Upon which, *Bonner* set up a new Adversifement, and threatned to remove them, if these abuses were not corrected : And upon the Complaints made of those things, the free use of the Scriptures was afterwards much restrained. This Year the King added to his former Foundations, two Collegiat Churches at *Burton upon Trent*, and *Thornton*, consisting of a Dean and four Prebendaries apiece. *Cranmer* observing the Excesses in Bishops Tables, by which, under the name of Hospitality, so much was consumed in great Entertainments, that they were disabled from more necessary and profitable Acts of Charity, made a Regulation, that an Archbishop should not have above six Dishes of Meat, and four of Banquet ; a Bishop not above five, of Meat, and four of Banquet ; a Dean or Arth-deacon, not above four, and two of the one, and the other ; and Inferiour Church-men might not have above two Dishes. But this did not take effect ; and Sumptuous Tables still continued ; tho the Revenues were much impaired ; and thus besides the other ill Effects of these, a great part of the Church-rents goes for Entertaining the Rich, which should be applied to the Poor.

## Book I.

1541.  
The Affairs of  
Scotland.

This Summer the King went to *York*, to meet his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, who promised him an Interview there. He was an Extraordinary Prince, a great Patron, both of Learning and Justice; but out of measure addicted to his Pleasures. The Clergy of *Scotland* were very Apprehensive of his seeing his Uncle, lest King *Henry* might have perswaded him to follow the Copy he had set to his Neighbours: and they used such perswasions, that these seconded by a Message from *France*, diverted the King from his purpose. Here I shall digress a little, to give an account of the State of *Scotland*, at this time. The long Alliance between *Scotland* and *France*, made that *Paris* was the place where the Learned of that Nation had their Education: Yet after the Year 1412, Learning came to have more footing there, and Universities were set up in several Episcopal Sees. At the same time, some of *Wickliff's* Followers began to creep into *Scotland*; and one *Resby*, an Englishman, was burnt (1407) for teaching some Opinions contrary to the Pope's Authority. Some Years after that, *Paul Crow*, an *Hussite* and *Bohemian*, was burnt, for infusing the Opinions of that Party, into some at *St. Andrews*. About the end of that Century, *Lollardy*, as it was then called, was spread into many parts of the Diocess in *Glasgow*: For which, several Persons of Quality were accused: But they answered the Archbishop of that See, with such Assurance, that he dismissed them.

them; having admonish'd them, to content themselves with the Faith of the Church, and to beware of new Doctrines. 1541.

The same Spirit of Ignorance, Immorality, and Superstition, had over-run the Clergy there, that was so much complained of in the other parts of *Europe*: only it may be supposed, that in Nations less Polite and Learned, it was in Proportion greater than it was elsewhere. The total neglect of the Pastoral Care, and the gross Scandals of the Clergy, possessed the People with such Prejudices against them, that they were easily disposed to hearken to new Preachers. *Patrick Hamilton*, nobly born, Nephew by his Father to the Earl of *Aran*, and to the Duke of *Albany* by his Mother, was bred up on design to be highly preferred; and had an Abby given him for prosecuting his Studies. He went to travel, and in *Germany* grew acquainted with *Luther* and *Melancthon*, and being possessed with their Opinions, he returned to *Scotland*, and laid open the Errours and Corruptions then received in the Church. He was invited to *St. Andrews*, to confer concerning these Points, upon which he was condemned, and put in Prison. Articles were objected to him; and upon his refusing to abjure them, *Beaton*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, with the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, 3 Bishops, and 5 Abbots, condemned him, as an obstinate Heretick, and delivered him to the Secular Power, and ordered the Execution to be

Book I. be that Afternoon ; for the King had gone  
 ~~~~~ in Pilgrimage to *Ross* ; and they were  
 1541. afraid, lest upon his Return, *Hamilton's*  
 Friends might have interceeded effectually  
 for him. He was tied to the Stake, and  
 expressed great Joyes in his Sufferings,  
 since by these he was to enter into Everlast-  
 ing Life. A Train of Powder being fired, it  
 did not kindle the Fewel, but only burnt  
 his Face : So a stop was made till more  
 Powder was brought ; and in that time  
 the Friars call'd oft to him to recant, and  
 pray to the Virgin, and to say the *Salve*  
*Regina* : One Frier *Campbel*, was very  
 officious among the rest, who had been oft  
 with him in Prison. He answered him,  
 That he knew he was not an Heretick,  
 and had confess'd it to him in private ; and  
 he charged him to answer for that to  
 God. By this time the Gun-powder was  
 brought, and the Fire was kindled, and  
 he died, often repeating these Words,  
*Lord Jesus receive my Soul.* *Campbel* be-  
 came soon after, Frantick, and died with-  
 in a Year. Both these laid together, made  
 great Impressions on the People : And  
 now that these Points began to be inquir-  
 ed into, many received the new Opinions.  
*Seaton*, a *Dominican*, the King's Confessor,  
 preaching in Lent, set out the Nature  
 of true Repentance, and the Method to  
 it, without mixing the Directions which  
 the Friars commonly gave on that Subject ;  
 and when another Friar shewed the de-  
 fectiveness of what he had taught, he de-  
 fended



himself in another Sermon, and reflected on those Bishops that did not preach, and called them *dumb Dogs*. But the Clergy would not meddle with him, till they found him in ill Terms with the King; and the freedom he used in reproving him for his Vices, quickly alienated the King from him, upon which they resolved to fall on him; but he withdrew into *England*, and wrote to the King, taxing the Clergy for their Cruelty, and praying him to restrain it. One *Forrest*, an ignorant Benedictine, was accused for having spoken Honourably of *Patrick Hamilton*, and was put in Prison. In Confession to a Friar, he acknowledged, he thought he was a good Man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned, might be defended. The Friar discovered this, and it was received as Evidence, and upon it he was condemned and burnt. Divers others were brought into the Bishop's Courts, of whom, the greatest part abjured; but two were more resolute: one *Gourley* denied Purgatory, and the Pope's Authority; another was *David Smiton*, who being a Fisherman, had refused to pay the Tithe of his Fish; and when the Vicar came to take them, he said, the Tithe was taken where the Stock grew, and therefore he threw the tenth Fish into the Sea: For this and other Opinions, he was condemned, and they were both burnt at one Stake. Several others were accused; of whom some fled to *England*, and others went over to *Germany*. The Changes made in  
Eng-

Book I.

1541.

Book I. *England*, raised in all the People a curiosity of searching into matters of Religion, and that was always fatal to Superstition. Pope *Clement* the 7<sup>th</sup>, wrote earnestly to the King of *Scotland*, to continue firm to the Catholick Faith: Upon which he called a Parliament, and made new Laws, for maintaining the Pope's Authority, and proceeding against *Hereticks*; yet the Pope could not engage him to make War on *England*. King *Henry* sent *Barlow*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, to him, with some Books that were written in Defence of his Proceedings, and desired him to examine them Impartially. He also proposed the Interview at *York*, and a Match between him and Lady *Mary*, the King's eldest Daughter; and promised that he should be made Duke of *York*, and Lord Lieutenant of the whole Kingdom. Yet the Clergy diverted him from this, and perswaded him to go in Person to *France*, and court the Daughter of that King, *Magdalene*. He married her in *January* 1537; but she died in *May*. She had been bred in the Queen of *Navarre's* Court, and so was well disposed towards the Reformation. Upon her Death, the King married *Mary of Guise*; she was a Branch of the Family of all *Europe*, that was most zealously addicted to the old Superstition; and her Interest joined with the Clergy's, engaged the King to become a violent Persecuter of all that were of another mind.

The

The King was very expensive, both in his Pleasures, and Buildings; and had a numerous Race of Bastards; so that he came to want Money much. The Nobility proposed to him, the seizing on the Abbey-Lands, as his Uncle had done. The Clergy on the other hand advised him, to proceed severely against all suspected of Heresy: By which means, according to the Lists they shewed him, he might raise 100000 Crowns a Year: They also advised him to provide his Children to Abbies, and Priories; and represented to him, That if he continued stedfast in the old Religion, he would still have a great Party in *England*; and might be made the Head of a League, which was then in Project against King *Henry*. This so far prevailed with him, that as he made four of his Sons, Abbots and Priors, so he gave way to the persecuting Spirit of the Clergy: Upon which, many were cited to answer for *Heresy*; of these many abjured; and some were banisht. A Canon Regular, a Secular Priest, two Friars, and a Gentleman, were burnt. *Forrest*, the Canon Regular, had been reprov'd by his Ordinary, the Bishop of *Dunkell*, for meddling with the Scriptures too much. He told him, he had lived long, and had never known what was in the Old or New Testament; but contented himself with his Portoise and Pontifical, and that he might come to repent it, if he troubled himself with such Fancies. The Archbishop of *Glasgow*,  
was

Book I.  
1541.  
A Persecution  
seen  
on foot in  
Scotland.

Book I. was a very moderate Man, and disliked  
 ~~~~~, cruel Proceedings. *Russel*, a Friar, and  
 1541. *Kennedy*, a young Man, of 18 Years of  
 Age, were brought before him; they expressed wonderful Joy, and a steady Resolution in their Sufferings. And after a long dispute between *Russel* and the Bishop's Divines, *Russel* concluded, *This is your Hour, and the Power of Darknes; go on, and fill up the Measures of your Iniquities.* The Archbishop was unwilling to give Sentence; he said, he thought these Executions did the Church more Hurt than Good. But those about him, told him, He must not take a Way different from the rest of the Bishops; and threatned him so, that he pronounced Sentence. They were burned; but they gave such Demonstrations of Patience and Joy, as made no small Impression on all that saw it, or heard of it. Among those that were in trouble, *George Buchanan* was one, who at the King's Instigations, had writ a very sharp Poem against the *Franciscans*, but was now abandoned by him. He made his Escape, and lived 20 Years in Forraign Parts, and at last returned to do his Country Honour; and what by his Immortal Poems, what by his History of *Scotland*, he shewed both how great a Master he was in the Roman Tongue; and how true a Judge he was, both in Wit, and in the Knowledge of Human Affairs, (if Passion had not corrupted him towards the end of his History) that he is justly to be reckoned  
 the



the greatest and best of the Modern Writers. So much of the Affairs of *Scotland*, the Author's Native Country.

Book I.

1541.

The  
Queen's ill  
Life is  
discovered.

King *Henry* stayed not long at *Tork*, since his Nephew came not to him. He set out a Proclamation there, inviting all that had been of late oppressed, to come in and make their Complaints, and he promised to repair them. This was done to cast the Load of all past Errours upon *Cromwel*. The King was mightily wrought on by the Charms of his Wife; so that on the First of *November*, he gave publick thanks to God for the happy Choice he had made: But this did not last long; for the next day *Cranmer* came, and gave him an account of the Queen's ill Life, which one *Lassells* had revealed to him, as having learnt it from his Sister. She had been very lewd before her Marriage, both with one *Deirham*, and one *Mannock*. *Cranmer*, by the Advice of the other Privy Counsellors, put this in Writing, and delivered it to the King, not knowing how to open it in Discourse. The King was struck with it, and at first inclined to believe it was a Forgery; yet he ordered a strict enquiry to be made into it, but he quickly found Proof enough; for the Queen had so far cast off both Modesty, and the Fear of a Discovery, that several Women had been Witnesses to her Lewdness. It also appeared, that she had intended to continue in that ill Course, for she had brought *Deirham* into her Service; and

at

Book I. at *Lincoln*, by the Lady *Rochford*'s means, one *Culpeper* was brought to her in the Night, and stayed many Hours with her in a *Cellar*, and at his going away, she gave him a Gold Chain. The Queen, after a slight denial which she made at first, did at last confess all. *Deirham*, and *Culpeper*, were executed; and a Parliament was called upon it. When it met, a Committee was sent to examine the Queen: Their Report is recorded only in General, That she confessed, but no Particulars are mentioned. Upon that they pass'd an Act, in the Form of a Petition. 'In it they 'prayed the King, that the Queen and 'her Complices, with her Bawd the Lady ' *Rochford*, might be attainted of Treason: 'And that all those who knew of the 'Queen's Vicious Course before her Marriage, might be attainted of Misprision 'of Treason, for not revealing it to the 'King, before he married her. Among 'those were, her Father, and Mother, 'and her Grand-Mother, the Dutcheß of ' *Norfolk*. It was also declared Treason, 'to know any thing of the Incontinence 'of any Queen for the future, and not to 'reveal it. And it was made Treason, 'in any whom the King intended to marry, 'judging they were Maids, not to reveal 'it, if they were not such. The Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded on the 14<sup>th</sup> of *February*. She confessed her Incontinence before her Marriage, but denied to the last that she had broken her

Wed-

Wed-lock, tho the Lasciviousness of her former Life, made the World easy to believe the worst things of her. All observed the Judgments of God on the Lady *Rochford*, who had been so instrumental in the Ruine of *Ann Bolleyn*, and of her Husband : And when she, to whose Artifices their Fall was in a great Measure ascribed, was found to be so vile a Woman, it tended much to raise their Reputation again. The attainting her Kindred and Parents, for not discovering her former Lewdness, was thought extream Severity : for it had been a hard piece of Duty to the King, in them, to have discovered such a Secret : Yet tho they lay some time in Prison, the King pardoned them all afterwards, when his Rage was a little qualified. That other Proviso, obliging a young Woman to discover her own Faultiness, if the King should make Love to her, was thought a Piece of grievous Tiranny : And upon this, those that rallied that Sex, took occasion to say, that after this, none who was reputed a Maid, could be induced to marry the King : So that it was not so much choice, as necessity, that made him marry a Widow, two Years after. Some Hospitals were this Year resigned to the King ; but there was good ground to question the Validity of those Deeds, because by their Statutes it was provided, that the Consent of all the Fellows, was necessary to make their Deeds good in Law. So those Statutes

T

Book I.

1542.

Book I. tutes were now by a special Act annulled, and this made way for the Dissolution of many Hospitals.

1542.  
*A Design  
 so suppress  
 the Bible.*

The Bishops sitting in Convocation, took great pains to suppress the English Bible; but the King could not be prevailed on directly to call it in. So they complained much of the Translation then set out; and intended to procure a Condemnation of that, and then to set about a new one, in which it would be easy to put such Delays, that it should not be finished in many Years. *Gardiner* did also propose a singular Conceit, that many of the Latin Words should be still retained in the English; for he thought they had either such a Majesty, or so peculiar a Signification, that they could not be fitly rendered. He proposed an hundred of those, and it seems hoped, that if this could be carried, the Translation would be so full of Latine Words, that the People should not understand it for all its being in English. *Cranmer*, perceiving that the Bible was the great Eye-sore of that Party; and that they were resolved to suppress it by all the means they could think of, procured an Order from the King, referring the Correction of the Translation to the two Universities. The Bishops took this very ill; and all of them, except the Bishops of *Ely*, and *St. Davids*, protested against it.

*Bonner's  
 Injunctions.*

At this time *Bonner*, gave some Injunctions to his Clergy, which had a strain

in



in them, so far different from the other parts of his Life, that it is probable, he drew them not himself. 'He required 'his Clergy to read every day a Chapter 'in the Bible, with some Gloss upon it; 'and to study the Book set out by the Bishops: That they should imploy no Curats, but such as he approved of: 'That they should take care to instruct 'young Children well, in the Principles 'of the Christian Religion: That they 'should not go to Taverns; nor use unlawful Games, chiefly on Sundays or Holy-days: 'That they should perform all the Duties 'of their Function, decently, and seriously: That they should suffer no Plays, nor Enterludes in Churches: And that 'in their Sermons, they should explain the 'Gospel and Epistle for the Day; and 'study to stir up the People to Good Works, and to Prayer; and should explain all the Ceremonies of the Church, but should forbear all railing or the reciting of fabulous Stories, and should chiefly 'set forth the Excellencies of Vertue, and 'the Vileness of Sin: and that none under 'the degree of a Bishop should preach without a License.

In the former times there had been few or no Sermons, except in Lent; for on Holy Days the Sermons were Panegyricks on the Saints, and on the virtue of their Relicks. But in Lent there was a more solemn way of preaching; and the Friars maintained their Credit much by the pathetic

*The way  
of preaching  
in that  
time.*

Book I. thetick Sermons they preached in that  
 1542. time, by which they wrought much on the  
 Affections of the People; yet these for the  
 most part tended most to extol some of  
 the Laws of the Church, as Fasting, Con-  
 fession, and other Austerities, with the mak-  
 ing Pilgrimages; but they were careful  
 to acquaint the People as little as was pos-  
 sible, with the true Simplicity of Christi-  
 nity, or the Scriptures; and they seemed to  
 design rather to raise a sudden Heat, than  
 to work a real Change in their Auditors.  
 They had also mixt so much out of Legends  
 with their Sermons, that the People came to  
 disbelieve all that they said for the sake of  
 those Fabulous things, with which their Ser-  
 mons were embased. The Reformers took  
 great care to instruct their Hearers in the  
 Fundamentals of Religion, of which they had  
 known little formerly: This made the Na-  
 tion run after these Teachers with a won-  
 derful Zeal; but they mixed too much Sharp-  
 ness against the Friars in their Sermons,  
 which was judged indecent in them to do;  
 tho their Hypocrisy and Cheats did in a  
 great measure excuse those Heats: and it  
 was observed that our Saviour had exposed  
 the *Pharisees* in so plain a manner, that it did  
 very much justify the treating them with  
 some Roughness; yet it is not to be denied  
 but Resentments for the Cruelties they or  
 their Friends had suffered by their means,  
 might have too much Influence on them.  
 This made it seem necessary to suffer none  
 to preach, at least out of their own Parishes,

\*

without

without Licence, and many were licensed to preach as Itinerants. There was also a Book of Homilies on all the Epistles and Gospels in the Year, put out, which contained a plain Paraphrase of those Parcels of Scripture; together with some practical Exhortations founded on them. Many Complaints were made of those that were licensed to preach, and that they might be able to justify themselves, they began generally to write and read their Sermons: and thus did this Custom begin, in which, what is wanting in the heat and force of Delivery, is much made up by the strength and solidity of the Matter; and has produced many Volumes of as excellent Sermons, as have been preached in any Age. Plays and Enterludes were a great Abuse in that time; in them Mock-Representations were made both of the Clergy and of the Pageantry of their Worship. The Clergy complained much of these as an Introduction to Atheism, when things Sacred were thus laught at; and said, They that begun to laugh at Abuses, would not cease till they had represented all the Mysteries of Religion as ridiculous: The graver sort of Reformers did not approve of it, but political Men encouraged it; and thought nothing would more effectually pull down the Abuses, that yet remained, than the exposing them to the scorn of the Nation.

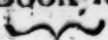
A War did now break out between *England* and *Scotland* at the Instigation of the *King of France*. *King Henry* set out a

*A War with Scotland.*

Book I. Declaration, pretending that the Crown of  
 ~~~~~ Scotland owed Homage to him : and cited  
 1542. many Precedents to shew that Homage was  
 done not only by their Kings, but by consent of the States ; for which Original Records were appealed to. The Scots on the other hand, asserted that they were a free and independent Kingdom ; that the Homages antiently made by their Kings, were only for Lands which they had in *England* ; and that those more lately made, were either offered by Pretenders in the case of a doubtful Title, or were extorted by Force : And they said, their Kings could not give up the Rights of a free Crown and People. The Duke of *Norfolk* made an In-road into *Scotland*, with 20000 Men in *October* : but after he had burnt some small Towns, and wasted *Teviotdale*, he returned back to *England*. In the end of *November* an Army of 15000 Scots with a good Train of Artillery, was brought together : They intended to march into *England* by the *Western* Road. The King went to it in Person ; but he was at this time, much disturbed in his Fancy, and thought the Ghost of one whom he had unjustly put to death, followed him continually ; he not only left the Army, but sent a Commission to *Oliver Sinclair*, then called his *Mission*, to command in chief. This disgusted the Nobility very much, who were become weary of the Insolence of that Favourite : so they refused to march, and were beginning to separate. While they were in this Disorder,



Disorder, 500 *English* appeared, and they apprehending it was a fore Party of the Duke of *Norfolk's* Army, refused to fight; so the *English* fell upon them and dispersed them: they took all their Ordinance and Baggage, and 1000 Prisoners, of whom 200 were Gentlemen. The chief of these were the Earls of *Glencarn* and *Cassilis*: The News of this so over-charged the Melancholy King, that he died soon after, leaving only an Infant Daughter newly born to succeed him. The Lords that were taken, were brought up to *London*, and lodged in the Houses of the *English* Nobility: *Cassilis* was sent to *Lambeth*, where he received those Seeds of Knowledge, which produced afterwards a great Harvest in *Scotland*. The other Prisoners were also instructed to such a degree, that they came to have very different Thoughts of the Changes that had been made in *England*, from what the *Scotish* Clergy had possessed them with; who had encouraged their King to engage in the War, both by the assurance of Victory, since he fought against an Heretical Prince, and the Contribution of 50000 Crowns a Year. The King's Death, and the Crowns falling to his Daughter, made the *English* Council lay hold on this as a proper Conjuncture for uniting the whole Island in one: therefore they sent for the *Scotish* Lords, and proposed to them, the marrying the Prince of *Wales* to their young Queen; this the *Scots* liked very well, and promised to pro-

Book I.  mote it all they could : And so upon their giving Hostages for the performing their Promises faithfully, they were sent home, and went away much pleased both with the Splendor of the King's Court, and with the way of Religion which they had seen in England.

1543.

A Parli-  
ment cal-  
led.

A Parliament was called, in which the King had great Subsidies given him, of six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three Years. A Bill was proposed for the advancement of true Religion, by *Cranmer*, and some other Bishops ; for the Spirits of the Popish Party were much fallen ever since the last Queen's Death ; yet at this time a Treaty was set on foot between the King and the Emperour, which raised them a little ; for since the King was like to engage in a War with *France*, it was necessary for him to make the Emperour his Friend. *Cranmer's* Motion was much opposed, and the timorous Bishops forsook him ; yet he put it as far as it would go, tho in most Points things went against him ; ' By it *Tindall's* Translation of the Bible was condemned as crafty and false, ' and also all other Books contrary to the ' Doctrine set forth by the Bishops. But ' Bibles of another Translation, were still ' allowed to be kept, only all Prefaces or ' Annotations that might be in them, were ' to be dashed or cut out : All the King's ' Injunctions were confirmed : No Books ' of Religion might be printed without ' Licence ; there was to be no Exposition ' of

An Act  
about Re-  
vision.

of Scripture in Plays or Enterludes ; none  
 of the Laity might read the Scripture, or  
 explain it in any publick Assembly : But  
 a Proviso was made for publick Speeches,  
 which then began generally with a Text  
 of Scripture, and were like Sermons.  
 Noblemen, Gentlemen and their Wives,  
 or Merchants might have Bibles, but no or-  
 dinary Woman, Tradesman, Apprentice,  
 or Husbandman, might have any. Every  
 Person might have the Book set out by the  
 Bishops, and the Psalter, and other Rudi-  
 ments of Religion in English. All Church-  
 men that preached contrary to that Book,  
 for the first Offence, were only required  
 to recant ; for the second, to abjure and  
 carry a Faggot ; but were to be burnt  
 for the third : the Laity for the third  
 Offence were only to forfeit their Goods  
 and Chattels, and to be liable to perpetu-  
 al Imprisonment ; but they were to be  
 proceeded against within a Year : The  
 Parties accused, were not allowed Wit-  
 nesses for their Purgation. The Act of  
 the six Articles was confirmed, and it was  
 left free to the King, to change this Act,  
 or any Proviso in it. There was also a  
 new Act past, giving Authority to the  
 King's Proclamations, and any nine Privy  
 Counsellours were empowered to proceed a-  
 gainst Offenders : To this the Lord *Mountjay*  
 dissented, and it is the only Instance of any  
 Protestation against any of the publick Acts  
 that past in this whole Reign. By the Act  
 about Religion, as the Laity were delivered  
 from

**Book I.** from the fear of Burning; so the Clergy might not be burnt but upon the third Conviction. The Act being also put entirely in the King's Power, he had now the Reformers all at mercy; for he could bind up the Act, or execute it as he pleased: and he affected this much to have his People depend entirely upon him. The League offensive and defensive for *England* and *Calais*, and for the *Netherlands*, was sworn by the King and the Emperour: and Assurances were given, that tho the King would not declare Lady *Mary* legitimate, upon which the Emperour insisted much, yet she should be put in the Succession to the Crown next Prince *Edward*. The Emperour was glad thus to engage the Kings of *England* and *France* in a War, by which the *Germans* were left without Support, and so he resolved to carry on his great design of making himself Master of *Germany*.

*Affairs in  
Scotland.*

In *Scotland* the Earl of *Arran*, *Hamilton*, next in Blood to the young Queen, was established in the Government during the Queen's Minority: he was a Man of great Vertue, and much inclined to the Reformation; but was soft and easie to be wrought on. King *Henry* sent Sir *Ralph Sadler* to him, to induce him to set forward the Match; and to offer him Lady *Elizabeth* to his Son. It was agreed and confirmed in Parliament, that the Young Queen should be bred in *Scotland* till she was ten Years old; the King of *England* sending a Nobleman and his Lady with others not exceed-



exceeding twenty, to wait on her : and after that Age, she was to be sent to *England*; and in the mean while six Hostages were to be given : but all the Clergy headed by Cardinal *Beaton*, set themselves much against this. The Queen-Mother opposed it much, and it was also said, a Match with the *French*, would be more for the Interest of the Nation, who being at so great a distance, could not oppress them so easily as the *English* might : for if the *French* oppressed them, the *English* would be ready to protect them, but if they came under the Yoke of *England*, they could expect no Protection from any other Prince. This meeting with that Antipathy that was then formed between the two Nations, and being inflamed by the Clergy, turned the People generally to prefer a Match with *France*, to that which was proposed for the Prince of *Wales*. The *French* sent over the Earl of *Lennox* to make a Party against the Governour ; they sent also over the Governour's Base-Brother, afterwards made Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, to take him out of the hands of the *English* : and he made him apprehend great danger if he went on in his Opposition to the Interests of *Rome*, that he would be declared illegitimate, as being begotten in a second Marriage, while the first that was annulled because of a Precontract, did subsist ; for if the annulling the first should be reversed, then the second could be of no force ; and if that were once done, the Earl of *Lennox*, who was next

Book I.

1543.

to

Book I. to him in blood, would be preferred to him: These threatnings joyned with his Brother's Artifices, had their full Effect on him: for he turned off wholly from the Interests of *England*, and gave himself up to the *French* Councils. When it was thus resolved to break the Match with *England*; the Lords that had left Hostages for their faithful performing the Promises they made to King *Henry*, were little concerned either in their own Honour, or in the safety of their Hostages: only the Earl of *Cassilis*, thought it was unworthy of him, to break his Faith in such a manner; so he came into *England*, and put himself in King *Henry's* Hands, who upon that called him another *Regulus*, but used him better; for he gave him his Liberty and a Noble Present, and sent him back with his Hostages, but resolved to take a severe Reparation of those who had failed him in that Kingdom. At the same time he began the War with *France*; one of the Reasons he gave for it was, that *Francis* had failed in the matter of shaking off the Pope's Authority, and advancing a Reformation, in which he had promised to second him.

Some  
burnt at  
Windfor.

The King married *Katherine Parre*, Widow to *Newill*, Lord *Latimer*: She secretly favoured the Reformation, but could not divert a Storm which fell then on a Society at *Windfor*. Person a Priest, *Testwood* and *Marbeck*, two Singing-men, and *Filmer*, one of the Town, were informed against by Dr. *London*, who had insinuated himself

himself much into *Cromwel's* Favour, and was eminently zealous in the Suppression of the Monasteries: But now he made his Court no less dextrously to the Popish Party. *Gardiner* moved in Council, That a Commission might be granted for searching all suspected Houses, for Books written against the six Articles: So the four before mentioned, were found to have some of them; and upon that account were seized on. Sir *Philip Hobbey*, and Dr. *Hains*, Dean of *Exeter*, were also put in Prison. There was a Concordance of the Bible, and some Notes upon it, in English, found written by *Marbeck*, which was look'd on as the Work of some learned Man, for it was known that he was illiterate. *Marbeck* said, the Notes were his own, gathered by him, out of such Books as he fell on. And for the Concordance, he said, he compiled it by the help of a Latin Concordance, and an English Bible, tho he understood little Latin. He had brought it to the Letter L. This seemed so incredible, that it was look'd on only as a Pretence to conceal the true Author; so to try him, they gave him some Words of the Letter M, and shut him up, with a Latin Concordance, and an English Bible; and by his Performance in that, they clearly saw, that the whole Work was his own, and were not a little astonished at the Ingeniousness and Diligence of so poor a Man. When the King heard of it, he said, *Marbeck* was better imployed than they

Book I

1543.

Book I. they were that examined him: So he was preserved, tho the other three were condemned, for some Words which they had spoken against the Mass, and upon that were burnt. Dr. *London*, and *Simonds* an Attorney, had taken some Informations against several Persons of Quality at Court, and intended to have carried the Design very high. But a great Pacquet, in which all their Project was disclosed by them, being intercepted, they were sent for, and examined about it; but they denied it upon Oath, not knowing that their Letters were taken; and were not a little confounded when their own Hand-writing was shewed them. So they were convicted of Perjury, and were set on a Pillory, and made ride about with their Faces to the Horses Tails, and Papers on their Breasts, in three several Places, which did so affect Dr. *London*, that he died soon after.

*Cranmer's  
Ruine is  
designed.*

The chief thing aimed at by the whole Popish Party was *Cranmer's* Ruine; *Gardiner* imploied many to infuse it into the King, that he gave the chief Encouragement to *Herefy* of any in *England*, and that it was in vain to lop off the Branches, and leave the Root still growing. The King till then would never hear the Complaints that were made of him: But now to penetrate into the depth of this Design, he was willing to draw out all that was to be said against him. *Gardiner* reckoned, that this Point being gained, all the rest would follow:



follow : And judged, that the King was now alienated from him ; and so more Instruments and Artifices than ever were now made use of. A long Paper, of many Particulars, both against *Cranmer*, and his Chaplains, was put in the King's hands. So upon this the King sent for him ; and after he had complained much of the Heresy in *England*, he said, He resolved to find out the chief Promoter of it, and to make him an Example. *Cranmer* wished him first to consider well what Heresy was, that so he might not condemn those as Hereticks, who stood for the Word of God against Humane Inventions. Then the King told him franckly, That he was the Man complained of, as most guilty ; and shewed him all the Informations that he had received against him. *Cranmer* confessed, he was still of the same mind that he was of when he opposed the six Articles, and submitted himself to a Trial : He confessed many things to the King ; in particular, that he had a Wife, but he said he had sent her out of *England*, when the Act of the six Articles past ; and expressed so great a Sincerity, and put so entire a Confidence in the King, that instead of being ruined, he was now better established with him than formerly. The King commanded him to appoint some to examine the Contrivance that was laid to destroy him. He answered, That it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a Cause, in which himself was concerned : Yet the King was positive ; so he

Book I. so he named some to go about it, and the whole secret was found out. It appeared, that *Gardiner*, and Dr. *London*, had been the chief Sticklers, and had encouraged Informers to appear against him. *Cranmer* did not press the King to give him any Reparation; for he was so noted for his readiness to forgive Injuries, and to do Good for Evil, that it was commonly said, that the best way to obtain his Favour, was to do him an Injury; of this he gave signal Instances at this time, both in Relation to some of the Clergy and Laity; by which it appeared that he was acted by that meek and lowly Spirit, that became all the Followers of Christ; but more particularly one, that was so great an Instrument in reforming the Christian Religion; and did in such eminent Acts of Charity, shew that he himself practised that, which he taught others to do.

1544.  
The Act  
of the Suc-  
cession.

A Parliament was now called, in which the great Act of Succession to the Crown past: 'By it the Crown was first provided to Prince *Edward* and his Heirs, or the Heirs by the King's present Marriage; after them to Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*, and in case they had no Issue, or did not observe such Limitations or Conditions as the King should appoint, then it was to fall to any other whom the King should name, either by his Letters Patents, or by his last Will signed with his Hand. An Oath was appointed both against the Pope's Supremacy, and for the maintaining the

Succession according to this Act, which all were required to take, under the pains of Treason: It was made Treason to say or write any thing contrary to this Act, or to the Slander of any of the King's Heirs named in it. By this, tho the King did not Legitimate his Daughters, yet it was made Criminal for any to object Bastardy to them. Another Act past, qualifying the Severity of the Act of the six Articles; none were to be imprisoned but upon a Legal Presentment, except upon the King's Warrant. None was to be challenged for Words, but within a Year; nor for a Sermon, but within 40 Days. This was made to prevent such Conspiracies as had been discovered the former Year. Another Act past, renewing the Authority given to 32 to reform the Ecclesiastical Law, which *Cranmer* promoted much; and to set it forward, he drew out of the Canon Law, a Collection of many things against the Regal, and for the Papal Authority, with several other very Extravagant Propositions, to shew how Indecent a thing it was, to let a Book, in which such things were, continue still in any credit in *England*: But he could not bring this to any good Issue, during this Reign. Another Act past, discharging all the King's Debts; and they also required such as had received payment to bring back the Money into the Exchequer. This was taxed as a piece of gross Injustice; and it was thought strange, that since the King had

Book I done this once before, he could have the credit to raise more Money, and be tempted to do it a second time. A General Pardon was granted, out of which, *Herefy* was excepted.

*The King  
makes War  
on France  
and Scot-  
land.*

The King was now engaged in a War, both with *France* and *Scotland*; and to make his Treasure hold out the longer, he embased the Coin in a very Extraordinary manner. The Earl of *Hartford* was sent with an Army by Sea to *Scotland*; he landed at *Grantham*, a little above *Leith*. He burnt both *Leith* and *Edinburgh*; but he neither staid to take the Castle of *Edinburgh*, nor did he Fortify *Leith*, but only wasted the Country, all the Way from that to *Berwick*. He did too much if it was intended to gain the Hearts of that Nation; and too little if it was intended to subdue them; for this did only inflame their Spirits more, by which, they were so united in their Aversion to *England*, that the Earl of *Lennox*, who had been cast off by *France*, and was gone over to the English Interest, could make no Party in the West, but was forced for his own Preservation to fly into *England*. *Audley* the Chancellour, dying at this time, *Wriothesly*, that was of the Popish Party, was put in his place: And Dr. *Petre*, that was hitherto *Cranmer's* Friend, was made Secretary of State: So equally did the King keep the Ballance between both Parties, and being to cross the Seas, he left a Commission for the Administration of Affairs,

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during



during his Absence, to the Queen, the Archbishop, the Chancellour, the Earl of *Hartford*, and Secretary *Petre* : And if they should have any occasion to raise any Force, he appointed the Earl of *Hartford*, his Lieutenant. He gave order also to Translate the Prayers, and Processions, and Litanies, into the English Tongue, which gave the Reformers some hopes again, that he had not quite cast off his Designs of corrupting such Abuses, as had crept into the Worship of God. And they hoped, That the Reasons which prevailed with the King for this, would also induce him to order a Translation, of all the other Offices into the English Tongue.

The King crossed the Sea with great Pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloth of Gold. He sat down before *Bulloign*, and took it after a Siege of two Months. It was soon after very near being retaken by a Surprise, but the Garison being quickly put in order, beat out the French. Thus the King returned Victorious; and was as much flattered for taking this single Town, as if he had conquered a Kingdom. The Inroads that were made into *Scotland* this Winter, were Insuccesful.

The King of *France* set out a Fleet of above 300 Ships; and the King set out a hundred Sail : On both sides they were only Merchant-men hired upon this Occasion. The French made two Descents upon *England*, but was beat back with

Book I. Ios. The English made a Descent in *Nor-*  
*mandy*, and burnt some Towns. The  
 1545. Princes of *Germany* saw their Danger, if  
 this War went on; for the Pope and Em-  
 perour had made a League for procuring  
 Obedience to the Council, that was now  
 opened at *Trent*. The Emperour was  
 raising an Army, tho he had made Peace  
 both with the King of *France*, and the  
 Turk; and was resolved to make good use  
 of this Opportunity, the two Crowns being  
 now in War. So the Germans sent to me-  
 diate a Peace between them: but it stuck  
 long at the business of *Bulloign*.

*Lee*, Archbishop of *York*, died this Year.  
*Holgate* was removed from *Landaffe* thi-  
 ther, who in his Heart favoured the Re-  
 formation. *Kitchin* was put in *Landaffe*,  
 who turned with every Change that was  
 made. *Heath* was removed from *Rochester*  
 to *Worcester*; and *Holbeach* was put in  
*Rochester*. *Day* was made Bishop of *Chi-*  
*chester*. All those were moderate Men, and  
 well disposed to a Reformation, at least to  
 comply with it.

*Wishart*  
 burnt in  
 Scotland.

This Year *Wishart* was burnt in *Scotland*:  
 He was Educated at *Cambridge*, and went  
 home the former Year. In many places  
 he preached against Idolatry, and the  
 other Abuses in Religion. He stayed long  
 at *Dundee*; but by the means that Cardi-  
 nal *Beaton* used, he was driven out of that  
 Town; and at his Departure, he de-  
 nounced heavy Judgments on them, for  
 rejecting the Gospel. He went and preach-

ed in many other places, and Enterance to the Churchs being denied him, he preached in the Fields. He would not suffer the People to open the Church Doors by Violence, for that, he said, became not the Gospel of Peace which he preached to them. He heard the Plague had broke out in *Dundee*, within four Days after he was banished; so he returned thither, and took care of the Sick, and did all the Offices of a faithful Pastor among them. He shewed his Gentleness towards his Enemies, by rescuing a Priest that was coming to kill him, but was discovered, and was like to have been torn in pieces by the People. He foretold several extraordinary things; particularly his own Sufferings, and the spreading the Reformation over the Land. He preached last in *Lothian*, and there the Earl of *Bothwell* took him, but promised upon his Honour, that no harm should be done him; yet he delivered him to the Cardinal, who brought him to *St. Andrews*, and called a Meeting of Bishops thither, to destroy him with the more Solemnity. The Governour being much prest to it, by a Worthy Gentleman of his Name, *Hamilton of Preston*, sent the Cardinal word not to proceed against him, till he should come and hear the Matter examined himself. But the Cardinal went on, and in a publick Court condemned him as an Heretick, upon several Articles that were objected to him, which he confessed, and offered to justify.

Book I. The Night after that he spent in Prayer ;  
 next Morning he desired he might have the  
 1545. Sacrament according to Christ's Institution  
 in both kinds ; but that being denied him,  
 he consecrated the Elements himself, and  
 some about him were willing to communi-  
 cate with him. He was carried out to the  
 Stake near the Cardinal's Palace ; who  
 was set in State in a great Window, and  
 looked on this sad Spectacle. *Wishart* de-  
 clared that he felt much Joy within him-  
 self, in offering up his Life for the Name  
 of Christ, and exhorted the People not to  
 be offended at the Word of God, for the  
 sake of the Cross. After the Fire was set  
 to and was burning him, he said, ' This  
 ' Flame hath scorched my Body, but hath  
 ' not daunted my Spirits ; and he foretold  
 ' that the Cardinal should in a few days be  
 ' ignominiously laid out in that very place  
 where he now sate in so much State ; but  
 as he speak that, the Executioner drew  
 the Cord that was about his Neck so strait,  
 that these were the last Words.

*Cardinal  
 Beaton is  
 murdered.*

The Clergy rejoiced much at his Death,  
 and extolled the Cardinal's Courage, for  
 proceeding in it against the Governours  
 Orders. But the People look'd on him  
 as both a Prophet and a Martyr. It was  
 also said that his Death was no less than  
 Murder, since no Writ was obtained for it ;  
 and the Clergy could burn none without a  
 Warrant from the Secular Power : so it  
 was inferred that the Cardinal deserved to  
 dy for it ; and if his Greatness set him  
 above



above the Law, then Private Persons might execute that which the Governour could not do : Such Practices had been formerly too common in that Kingdom ; and now upon this occasion some Gentlemen of Quality came to think it would be an Heroical Action to conspire his Death. His Insolence had rendred him generally very hateful : so private and publick Resentments concurring, twelve Persons entered into a fatal Engagement of killing him privately in his House. On the 30th of *May*, they first surprized the Gate early in the Morning, and tho there were an hundred lodged in the Castle, yet they being asleep, they came to them apart, and either turned them out, or shut them up in their Chambers : Having made all sure, they came to the Cardinal's Chamber-door ; he was fast asleep, but by their Rudeness, he was both awakened, and perceived they had a design on his Life : upon the assurance of Life, he opened his Door, but they did cruelly and treacherously murder him, and laid out his Body in the same Window, from which he had looked on *Wisharts* Execution. Some few justified this Fact, as the killing of a Robber and Murderer ; but it was more generally condemned by all sorts of People, even by those who hated him most ; yet the Accomplishment of *Wishart's* Prediction made great Impressions on many. On the other hand, it was afterwards observed that scarce any of the Conspirators died an ordinary Death. They kept out

Book I. the Castle, and about 140 came in to them, and they held it near two Years, being assisted both by Mony and Provisions that were sent from *England*. They had also the Govenour at their Mercy, for they kept his eldest Son, whom the Cardinal had taken into his Care for his Education. An Absolution was brought from *Rome*, and a Pardon was offered them; and at last, being straitned both at Sea and Land, they rendred the Place upon Assurance of Life. This Infamous Action was a great Blemish upon the Reformers, who, tho they did not directly justify it, yet extenuated it, and gave it some Countenance; for two of them went in and preached to the Garrison in the Castle.

*Chantries  
given to  
the King.*

In *England* a Parliament met, in which as the Spirituality gave a Subsidy of six Shillings in the Pound, payable in two Years; so the Temporalty not only gave a Subsidy for the War, but confirmed all the Surrenders that had been made of Chantries, Chappels, Colledges, Hospitals, and other Foundations, for saying Masses for departed Souls: and they empowered the King during his Life to grant Commissions for seizing on the rest of them. Yet the King found this was like to give new Discontent to the Gentry, to whom these belonged, so he made but a small Progress in it, and many were reserved to his Sons Courtiers to feed on. The King dismissed the Parliament with a long Speech, 'In which after he had thanked them for their  
' Bills

‘Bills, he exhorted them to Charity and  
 ‘Concord in matters of Religion; and to  
 ‘forbear all Terms of Reproach, such as  
 ‘*Papist* and *Heretick*: he complained much  
 ‘of the Stifness of some Church-men, and  
 ‘of the Indiscretion of others, who both  
 ‘gave ill Example, and sowed the Seeds of  
 ‘Discord among the Laity. He, as God’s  
 ‘Vicar, thought himself bound to see these  
 ‘things corrected: he reprov’d the Tem-  
 ‘poralty for the ill use they made of the  
 ‘Scripture; for instead of being taught  
 ‘out of it to live better, and to be more  
 ‘charitable to one another, they only railed  
 ‘at one another, and made Songs out of  
 ‘it, to disgrace those that differed from  
 ‘them; so he exhorted them to serve  
 ‘God, and love one another, which he  
 ‘would esteem the best Expression of their  
 ‘Duty and Obedience to him. The King  
 had appointed a Distribution of 550 *l.* a  
 year in several Cathedrals, for the Poor,  
 and about 400 *l.* for High-ways; so this  
 Year some Bishops were appointed to see  
 whether those Payments were made as he  
 had ordered or not. The Universities  
 were now in danger of having their Col-  
 ledges suppress’d, but upon their Applicati-  
 ons to the King, they were deliver’d from  
 their Fears.

Now came on the last Year of this Reign, *A Peace*  
 the War with *France* was this Year unsuc- *with*  
 cessful, but upon the Earl of *Surrey*’s being *France.*  
 recalled, and the Earl of *Hartford*’s being  
 sent in his room, things turn’d a little.  
 ‘This

Book I. This raised such Animosity between those two Lords, that they became fatal to the former. The two Kings were at last brought to consent to a Peace; the main Article of it was, that within eight Years *Bulloigne* should be delivered up, the taking and keeping of which, cost *England* 1300000*l.* Upon this Peace *Annebault* the French Admiral, was sent over Ambassador. The Council of *Trent* was now sitting, *Pool* was made a Legate to do the King the more Spite: the Emperour and the Pope governed it as they pleased: so the two Crowns resolved to unite more firmly; particularly it was proposed, that the Mass should be turned to a Communion; and *Cranmer* was ordered to prepare the Office for it. But this was too great a Design for two old Kings to accomplish.

*Anne Aiscough and others burnt.*

There was at this time a new Prosecution of those that denied the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, *Shaxton* was accused of some Words about it, but he abjured, and complied so entirely, that soon after he preached the Sermon at the burning of *Anne Aiscough*; he made no noise all King *Edward's* time, yet in Queen *Mary's* Reign, he was a Persecutor of Protestants, but was so little esteemed, that tho he had been Bishop of *Salisbury*, he was raised no higher than to be Bishop Suffragan of *Ely*. Several other Persons were at this time indicted upon the same Statute, but most of them recanted; *Anne Aiscough* stood



stood firm, she was descended from a good Family, and had been well educated, but was unhappily married; for her Husband being a violent Papist, drove her out of his House, when he discovered her Inclinations to the Reformation; she was put in Prison on the account of the Sacrament, but signed a Recantation, and so was set at Liberty; yet not long after she was committed again upon a new Complaint, and was examined before the Privy Council, but answered with extraordinary Resolution; yet it was thought by some that she was too forward in her manner of speaking: she had been much at Court, and it was believed she was supported by some Ladies there: so in order to the Discovery of this, she was carried to the *Tower* and rack'd; yet she confess'd nothing. *Wriothesly* was present, and commanded the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to draw the Rack a little more, but he refused to do it; upon which the Chancellour laid aside his Gown and drew it himself with so much Force, as if he had intended to rend her Body asunder; and the Effects of this were so violent, that she was not able to go to *Smithfield*, but was carried thither in a Chair when she was burnt: Two others were also condemned on the same account, and *Shaxton* to compleat his Apostacy, after he had in vain endeavoured to perswade them to abjure, preached the Sermon at their Burning, in which he inveighed severely against their Errors. The Lord Chancellour came to

Book I,

1546,

Book I. to *Smithfield*, and offered them their Pardons if they would recant, but they chose rather to glorify God by their Deaths, than to dishonour him by so foul an Apostacy. There were two burnt in *Suffolk*, and one in *Norfolk*, on the same account, this Year.

Designs  
against  
Cranmer

But the Popish Party hoped to have greater Sacrifices offered up to their Revenge: They had laid a Train last Year for *Cranmer*, and they had laid one now for the Queen. They perswaded the King, that *Cranmer* was the Source of all the Herefy that was in *England*; but the King's Partiality to him was such, that none would come in against him: So they desired, that he might be once put in the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform against him. The King seemed to consent to this; and they resolved to execute it the next day: but in the Night the King sent for *Cranmer*, and told him, what was resolved concerning him. *Cranmer* thanked the King for giving him notice of it, and not leaving him to be surpris'd. He submitted to it, only he desired he might be heard answer for himself; and that he might have indifferent Judges who understood those matters. The King wondered to see him so little concerned in his own Preservation; but told him, he must take care of him, since he took so little care of himself. The King therefore gave him Instructions to appear before the Council, and to desire to see his Accusers before he

he should be sent to the Tower; and that he might be used by them, as they would desire to be used in the like Case: And if he could not prevail by the force of Reason, then he was to appeal to the King in Person, and was to shew the King's Seal-Ring, which he took from his Finger and gave him; and they knew it all so well, that they would do nothing after they once saw that; so he being summoned next Morning, came over to *White-Hall*: He was kept long in the Lobby before he was called in: But when that was done, and he had observed the Method the King had ordered him to use; and had at last shewed the Ring, they rose all in great Confusion, and went to the King. He chid them severely for what they had done, and expressed his Esteem and Kindness to *Cranmer*, in such Terms, that his Enemies were glad to get off, by pretending, that they had no other Design, but to have his Innocence declared in a publick Trial; and were now so convinced of the King's unalterable Favour to him, that they never made any more Attempts upon him.

But what they durst not do in Relation to *Cranmer*, they thought might be more safely tried against the Queen, who was known to love the *New Learning*, which was the common Phrase for the Reformation. She used to have Sermons in her Privy Chamber, which could not be so secretly carried, but that it came to the King's Knowledge. Yet her Conduct in all other things

And a-  
gainst the  
Queen.

Book I. things was so exact, and she expressed such a tender care of the King's Person, that  
 1546. it was observed, she had gained much upon him; but his Peevishness, growing with his Distempers, made him sometimes uneasy, even to her. They used often to talk of Matters of Religion; and sometimes she held up the Argument for the Reformers so stiffly, that he was offended at it; yet as soon as that appeared, she let it fall; but once the Debate continuing long, the King expressed his Displeasure at it to *Gardiner*, when she went away. He took hold of this Opportunity, to persuade the King, that she was a great Cherisher of Hereticks. *Wriothesly* joined with him in the same Artifice, and filled the angry King's Head with many Stories; in so much, that he signed the Articles upon which she was to be Impeached. But *Wriothesly* let that Paper fall from him carelessly, and it happened to be taken up by one of the Queen's Friends, who carried it to her: Upon which she went to the King, and brought on a Discourse of Religion; and after a little Opposition, she yielded, and seemed convinced by the King's Reasons, and told him, That she only held up that Argument to be instructed by him, and sometimes to engage him in Discourse, and so to make him forget his pains; and this she seconded with such Flattery, that he was perfectly satisfied, and reconciled to her. Next day, as he was walking with her in the Garden, *Wriothesly*



thefly came thither on defign to have carry-  
ed her to the Tower; but the King chid  
him feverely for it, and was heard to call  
him *Knave* and *Fool*. The good natured  
Queen interposed to mitigate his Dif-  
pleafure, but the King told her, She had  
no reason to be concerned for him: Thus  
the Defign againft her, vanifhed; and  
*Gardiner* that had fet it on, loft the King's  
Favour entirely by it.

Book I.

1546.

But now the Fall of the Duke of *Nor-* *The Duke*  
*folk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surry*, came *of Nor-*  
on. The Father had been long Treasur- *folk's Fall.*  
er, and had ferved the King with great  
Fidelity and Succels: His Son was a Man  
of rare Qualities; he had a great Wit,  
and was more than ordinary learned.  
He particularly hated the Earl of *Hart-*  
*ford*, and scorned an Alliance with him,  
which his Father had projected. The  
Duke of *Norfolk* had intended to unite  
his Family to the *Seimours*, by marrying  
his Son to the Earl of *Hartford's* Daughter;  
and his Daughter the Dutcheff of *Rich-*  
*mond*, to Sir *Thomas Seimour*: But both  
his Children refufed to comply with him  
in it. The *Seimours* were apprehenfive of  
the Oppofition they might meet with, if  
the King fhould die, from the Earl of *Sur-*  
*ry*, who was a high fpirited Man, had a  
vaft Fortune, and was the Head of the Po-  
pifh Party. It was likewise fufpected, that  
he kept himfelf unmarried in hopes of  
marrying the Lady *Mary*. The Duke's  
Family was alfo fatally divided: His  
Dutcheff

Book I. Dutcheſs had been ſeparated from him  
 1546. about four Years, and now turned Infor-  
 mer againſt him. His Daughter did alſo  
 hate her Brother, and was a Spy upon him.  
 One *Holland*, a Whore of the Duke's, did  
 alſo betray him; and diſcovered all ſhe  
 could; yet all amounted to no more than  
 ſome Complaints of the Fathers, who  
 thought the Services he had done the  
 Crown were little regarded; and ſome  
 Threatnings of the Sons. It was alſo ſaid,  
 that the Father gave the Coat of Arms  
 that belonged to the Prince of *Wales*, and  
 the Son gave *Edward* the Confefſors Coat;  
 but that was only a Pretence to make a  
 noiſe among the People, and to cover the  
 want of more important matter againſt  
 them. One *Southwel* objected things of a  
 higher Nature to the Earl of *Surry*. He  
 denied them, and deſired, that according  
 to the Martial Law, they might have a  
 Trial by Combate, and fight in their  
 Shirts: But that was not granted; yet  
 both Father and Son were put in the  
 Tower.

1547.  
*The Earl  
 of Surry  
 executed.*

The Earl of *Surry* was tried by a Jury  
 of Commoners, and was found guilty of  
 Treason, and executed on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *Ja-  
 nuary*. He was much lamented; and the  
 Blame of his Death being caſt on the *Sci-  
 moulds*, raiſed a General *Odium* againſt  
 them. The old Duke ſaw a Parliament  
 called to deſtroy him by an Act of Attain-  
 der, for there was not matter enough to  
 ruine him at Common Law; ſo to prevent  
 that

that he made such humble Submission to the King, as would have mollified any that had not Bowels of Brass. He wrote to him, 'That he had spent his whole Life in his 'Service, without having so much as a 'Thought to his Prejudice. He had obeyed all the King's Laws, and was resolved to obey all that ever he should make. He begged that he might be heard, with his Accusers face to face. He prayed that the King would take all his Lands, and Goods, and only restore him to his Favour, and grant him such an Allowance to live on, as he thought fit. He went further, and set his Hand to a Confession of several Crimes; as 1. His revealing the Secrets of the King's Council. 2. His concealing his Son's Treason, in giving the Arms of *Edward* the Confessor. 3. His own giving the Arms of *England*, with the Labels of Silver which belonged only to the Prince, which he acknowledged was High Treason, and therefore he begged the King's Mercy. But all this had no effect on the King, tho his drawing so near his end, ought to have begot in him a greater regard to the shedding of Innocent Blood.

When the Parliament met, the King was not able to come to *Westminster*, but he sent his Pleasure to them by a Commission. He intended to have Prince *Edward* Crowned Prince of *Wales*; and therefore desired they would make all possible hast in the

*And the Duke attained by Act of Parliament.*

Book I. Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, that  
 so the Places which he held by Patent  
 1547 might be disposed of to others, who should  
 assist at the Coronation; which, tho it was  
 a very slight Excuse, for so high a piece  
 of Injustice, yet it had that effect, that in  
 seven Days, both Houses pass the Bill.  
 On the 17th of January, the Royal Assent  
 was given by those Commissioned by the  
 King; and the Execution was ordered to  
 be next Morning. There was no special  
 Matter in the Act, but that of the Coat  
 of Arms, which he and his Ancestors were  
 used to give, according to Records in the  
 Heralds Office; so that this was con-  
 demned by all Persons, as a most Inexcu-  
 sable Act of Tyranny. But the Night after  
 this, the King died, and it was thought  
 contrary to the Decencies of Government,  
 to begin a new Reign with so Unjustifi-  
 cable an Act, as the beheading of the old  
 Duke, and so he was preserved: Yet  
 both Sides made Inferences from this Ca-  
 lamity that fell on him. The Papists said,  
 It was God's just Judgment on him, for  
 his Obsequiousness to King Henry. But  
 the Protestants said, It was a just return  
 on him, for what he had done against  
*Cromwel*, and many others, on the account  
 of the six Articles. *Crammer* would not  
 meddle in this Matter, but that he might  
 be out of the way, he retired to *Croydon*,  
 whereas *Gardiner* that had been his Friend  
 all along, continued still about the Court.

\*

The



1547.

*The King's  
Sickness.*

The King's Distemper had been growing long upon him. He was become so Corpulent, that he could not go up and down Stairs, but made use of an Engine, when he intended to walk in his Garden, by which he was let down and drawn up. He had an old Sore in his Leg, that pained him much, the Humours of his Body discharging themselves that way, till at last all settled in a Dropsy. Those about him were afraid to let him know that his Death seemed near, lest that might have been brought within the Statute of foretelling his Death, which was made Treason. His Will was made ready, and as it was given out, was signed by him on the 30th of December. He had made one at his last going over to France. All the Change that he made at this time was, that he ordered *Gardiner's* Name to be struck out, for in that formerly made, he was named one of the Executors. When Sir *Anthony Brown* endeavoured to perswade him not to put that Disgrace on an old Servant, he continued positive in it; for he said, he knew his Temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the Power of others to do it, if he were put in so high a Trust. The most material thing in the Will, was, the preferring the Children of his second Sister, by *Charles Brandon*, to the Children of his eldest Sister the Queen of *Scotland*, in the Succession to the Crown. Some Objecti-

Book I. ons were made to the Validity and Truth  
 of the Will. It was not signed by the  
 King's Hand, as it was directed by the  
 Act of Parliament, but only stamped with  
 his Name; and it was said, this was done  
 when he was dying, without any Order  
 given for it by himself; for proof of  
 which, the *Scots* that were most concerned,  
 appealed to many Witnesses; and chiefly,  
 to a Deposition which the Lord *Paget* had  
 made, who was then Secretary of State.  
 On his Death-bed he finished the Founda-  
 tion of Trinity-Colledge in *Cambridge*, and  
 of Christ's-Church Hospital near *Newgate*;  
 yet this last was not so fully settled as was  
 needful, till his Son compleated what he had  
 begun.

*And  
 Death.*

On the 27th of *January*, his Spirits sunk  
 so, that it was visible he had not long to  
 live. Sir *Anthony Denny* took the courage  
 to tell him, that Death was approaching,  
 and desired him to call on God for his  
 Mercy. The King exprest in general his  
 Sorrow for his past Sins, and his Trust  
 in the Mercies of God in Christ Jesus.  
 He ordered *Cranmer* to be sent for, but  
 he was speechless before he could be brought  
 from *Croidon*; yet he gave a Sign that he  
 understood what he said to him, and soon  
 after, he died, in the 57th Year of his Age,  
 after he had reigned 37 Years, and nine  
 Months. His Death was concealed three  
 days, for the Parliament which was dis-  
 solved with his last Breath, continued to  
 do

do business till the 31<sup>st</sup>, and then his Death was published. It is probable the *Seignours* concealed it so long, till they made a Party for the putting the Government into their own Hands. Book I.  
1547.

The Severities he used against many of his Subjects in matters of Religion, made both sides write with great Sharpness of him: His Temper was Imperious and Cruel: He was both sudden and violent in his Revenges, and stuck at nothing by which he could either gratify his Lust, or his Passion. This was much provoked, by the Sentence the Pope thundered against him, by the virulent Books Cardinal *Pool* and others published, by the Rebellions that were raised in *England*, and the Apprehensions he was in of the Emperour's Greatness, and of the Inclinations his People had to have joined with him, together with what he had read in History of the Fates of those Princes, against whom Popes had thundered in former times; all which, made him think it necessary to keep his People under the Terror of a severe Government; and by some publick Examples to secure the Peace of the Nation; and thereby to prevent a more profuse Effusion of Blood, which might have otherwise followed if he had been more gentle. And it was no wonder if after the Pope deposed him, he proceeded to great Severities against all that which supported that Authority.

*An account of his Severities against the Priests.*

## Book I.

1547.  
The Car-  
thusians in  
particular.

The first Instance of Capital Proceedings upon that account, was in *Easter-Term*, 1535, in which, three Priors and a Monk of the Carthusian Order, were condemned of Treason, for saying, that the King was not Supream Head of the Church of *England*. It was then only a *Premunire*, not to swear to the Supremacy, but it was made Treason to deny it, or speak against it. *Hall*, a Secular Priest, was at the same time condemned of Treason, for calling the King a Tyrant, an Heretick, a Robber, and an Adulterer; and saying, that he would die as King *John*, or *Richard* the Third died; and that it would never be well with the Church till the King was brought to Pot: And that they looked when *Ireland* and *Wales* would rise; and were assured that three parts of four in *England* would join with them. All these pleaded *not Guilty*; but being condemned, they justified what they had said. The *Carthusians* were hanged in their Habits. Soon after that, three *Carthusians* were condemned, and executed at *London*, & two more at *York*, upon the same account, for opposing the King's Supremacy. Ten other Monks were shut up in their Cells, of whom nine died there, and one was condemned, and hanged. These had been all Complices in the Business of the Maid of *Kent*; and tho that was pardoned, yet it gave the Government ground to have a watchful Eye over them, and to proceed



proceed more severely against them upon the first Provocation; Book I.

After these, *Fisher* and *More* were brought to their Trials; Pope *Clements* officious Kindness to *Fisher* in declaring him a Cardinal, did hasten his Ruine, tho he was little concerned at that Honour that was done him. He was tried by a Jury of

1547.  
*Fisher's*  
*Sufferings.*

Commoners, and was found guilty of Treason, for having spoken against the King's Supremacy: but instead of the Common Death in Cases of Treason, the King ordered him to be beheaded. On the 22th of June he suffered. He dressed himself with more then ordinary Care that day; for he said it was to be his Wedding-Day. As he was led out, he opened the New Testament at a Venture, and prayed, that such a place might turn up as might comfort him in his last Moments. The Words on which he cast his Eyes were, *This is Life Eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* So he shut the Book, and continued meditating on these Words to the last. On the Scaffold he repeated the *Te Deum*, and so laid his Head on the Block, which was severed from his Body. He was a learned and devout Man, but much addicted to Superstition, and too cruel in his Temper against Hereticks. He had been Confessor to the King's Grand-Mother, and perswaded her to found two Colledges in *Cambridge*, *Christ's* and *St John's*; in Acknowledg-

Book I, ment of which, he was chosen Chancel-  
 of the University. *Henry* the Seventh made  
 1535. him Bishop of *Rochester*: He would never  
 exchange that for any other: He said his  
 Church was his Wife, and he would not  
 part with his Wife because she was Poor.  
 He was much esteemed by this King, till  
 the Suit of the Divorce was set on foot;  
 and then he adhered stily to the Marriage,  
 and the Popes Supremacy; and that made  
 him too favourable to the Nun of *Kent*.  
 But the Severities of his long Imprison-  
 ment, together with this bloody Conclu-  
 sion of it, were universally condemned all  
 the World over; only *Gardiner* imploied  
 his Servile Pen to write a Vindication of  
 the King's Proceedings against him. It was  
 writ in Elegant Latin, but the Stile was  
 thought too Vehement.

More's  
 Death.

It was harder to find matter against Sir  
*Thomas More*, for he was very cautious,  
 and satisfied his own Conscience by not  
 swearing the Supremacy, but would not  
 not speak against it. 'He said the Act had  
 'two Edges, if he consented to it, it would  
 'damne his Soul; and if he spoke against it,  
 'it would condemn his Body. This was  
 'all the Message he sent to *Fisher*, when he  
 'desired to know his Opinion about it; he  
 'had also said the same to the Duke of *Nor-*  
 'folk and some Counsellors that came to ex-  
 'amine him. And *Rich*, then the King's  
 'Solicitor, coming as a private Friend, to  
 'perswade him to swear the Oath, urged  
 'him

him with the Act of Parliament, and asked him, if he should be made King by Act of Parliament, would not he acknowledge him: He answered, he would; because a King might be made, or deprived by a Parliament. But the Matter of the Supremacy was a point of Religion, to which the Parliament's Authority did not extend it self. All this *Rich* witnessed against him; so these Particulars were laid together, as amounting to a Denial of the King's Supremacy, and upon this he was judged guilty of Treason. He received his Sentence with that equal Temper of Mind which he had shewed in both Conditions of Life. He expressed great Contempt of the World, and much Weariness in living in it. His ordinary Facetiousness remained with him to his last Moment on the Scaffold. Some censured that as affected and indecent, and as having more of the Stoick than the Christian in it. But others said, that way of Railery had been so Customary to him, that Death did not discompose him, nor put him out of his ordinary Humour. He was beheaded on the 6th of July, in the 52d or 53d Year of his Age. He had great Capacities, and eminent Vertues. In his Youth he had freer thoughts, but he was afterwards much corrupted by Superstition, and became fierce for all the Interests of the Clergy. He wrote much in Defence of all the old Abuses. His Learning in Divinity was but

Book I. but ordinary ; for he had read little more  
 ~~~~~ than some of St. *Austin's* Treatises, and the  
 1535. Canon Law, and the Master of the Sentences, beyond whom, his Quotations do seldom go. His Stile was Natural and Pleasant ; and he could turn things very dextrously to make them look well or ill as it served his Purpose. But tho he suffered for denying the Kings Supremacy, yet he was at first no Zealot for the Pope :  
 ' For he says of himself, That when the  
 ' King shewed him his Book in Manuscript,  
 ' which he wrote against *Luther*, he advised him to leave out that which he had put  
 ' in it concerning the Pope's Power, for he  
 ' did not know what Quarrels he might  
 ' have afterwards with the Pope's, and then  
 ' that would be turned against him. But the King was perhaps fond of what he had written, and so he would not follow that wise Advice which he gave him.

1537.  
*Attain-*  
*de-s after*  
*the Rebel-*  
*lion.*

There were no Executions after this, till the Rebellions of *Lincolnshire* and *Yorkshire* gave new Occasions to Severity ; and then not only the Lords of *Darcy* and *Hussy*, but six Abbots, and many Gentlemen ; the chief of whom was, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, were attainted. They had not only been in the Rebellion, but had forfeited the General Pardon, by their new Attempts, after it was proclaimed : Yet some said, the King took Advantage on very slight Grounds to break his Indemnity. But on the other hand,



hand, it was no Wonder if he proceeded with the utmost Rigour against those who had raised such a Storm in the Kingdom, and in particular against those Abbots and Monks who had sworn to maintain his Supremacy, and yet were the chief Incendiaries that had set the Kingdom on Fire. Book I.  
1537.

One *Forrest*, an Observant Friar, had been Queen *Katherin's* Confessor, but forsok her Interests; and not only swore to the King's Supremacy, but used such Insinuations, that he had a large share of the King's Favour and Confidence. He was look'd on as a Reproach to his Order, and used great Cruelties in their House at *Greenwich*. He shut up one that he believed gave Intelligence of all they did to the Court; and used him so ill, that he died in their hands. It was also found, that in secret Confession, he had alienated many from the King's Supremacy; and being questioned for it, he said, he had taken the Oath for *it only with his outward Man, but his inward Man had never consented to it.* But he offered to recant and abjure this Opinion; yet being afterwards diverted from that, he was condemned as an Heretick, and was burnt in *Smithfield*. A Pardon was offered him at the Stake, if he would recant; but he refused it. A great Image that was brought out of *Wales*, was hewed in pieces, and served for Fuel to burn him. The Writers of that time say, he denied the Gospel, and that he had little Knowledge of God in his

Book I. his Life, and shewed less Trust in him at his Death.

1538. The Winter after this, a Correspondence was discovered between Cardinal Pool, and Courtney, Marquess of Exeter, and Pool's Brother, the Lord Mountacute, and several others. It was believed, that Sir Geoffrey Pool, another of the Brothers, betrayed the rest. They had expressed some Kindness for the Cardinal and his Proceedings; and had said, that they looked to see a Change in *England*; and that they hoped the King would die ere long, and then all would go well; with several other Words to that purpose, for which they were Attainted, and Executed. Others were also condemned for calling the King a *Beast*, and worse than a *Beast*; and that he would be certainly damned for plucking down the Abbies. Cardinal Pool, and several others, that had fled out of the Kingdom, and had Confederated themselves with the Pope against the King, were also Attainted. Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter, was likewise condemned, for having said, that the Attainder of the Marquis of Exeter was cruel and unjust. He renounced the Superstitions of Popery, and embraced the Reformation before he suffered.

1539.  
Attainders in  
Parliament  
without  
hearing  
the Parties,

After these Judgments and Executions were over, a new and unheard of Precedent was made, of Attainting some without bringing them to make their Answers, which

which is a Blemish on this Reign, that can never be washed off, and was a Breach of the most sacred and unalterable Rules of Justice. The first that were so condemned were, the Marchioness of *Exeter*, and the Countess of *Sarum*, Mother to Card. *Pool*. The special Matter charged on the former, was, her Confederating her self with Sir *Nicholas Carew*; and that against the other was, the Confederating with her Son, Cardinal *Pool*. No Witnesses were examined to prove these things against them; perhaps some Depositions might have been read in Parliament. *Cromwell* shewed a Coat which was found among the Countess of *Sarum*'s Cloaths, on which the Standard used by the *Torkshire* Rebels was wrought; from which it was inferred, that she approved of them. Fourteen others were Attainted by the same Act: six of them were Priests, one was a Knight Hospitaller, four were Gentlemen, one was a Merchant, and two were Yeomen; all were condemned for Confederating with the Pope or Cardinal *Pool*; or asserting the Pope's Supremacy; or endeavouring to raise Rebellion: But against four of them, there is nothing but Treason in General Words alledged. This Bill was past in two days by the Lords, and in five by the Commons: But of all these, only three were executed, these were the Countess of *Sarum*; tho not till two Years after this; and Sir *Adrian Fortescue*, and *Dingley*, the Knight of St. *John*

Book I.

1539.

of

Book I.

1539.

of *Jerusalem*. In the Countess of *Sarum* did the Name of *Plantagenet* end: She was about 70 Years old, but shewed that in that Age she had a Vigorous and Masculine Mind.

In the Parliament that sate in the Year 1540, several others were Attainted in the same manner, without being heard, and for the same Crimes. *Fetherston*, *Abel*, and *Powel*, and six more, were so condemned; but those three only suffered. By another Act of the same Parliament, the Lord *Hungerford*, and his Chaplain, *Bird*, were Attainted: His Chaplain had often Perswaded him to rebel; and had said, that the King was the greatest Heretick in the World. *Hungerford* had also ordered some of his other Chaplains to use Conjuring, that they might know how long the King would live, and whether he would be Victorious over his Enemies. He was also charged for having liyed in Sodomy with several of his Servants, three Years together. He was soon after executed, and died in great disorder.

In the Year 1541, Five Priests, and ten Laymen, were stirring up the People in the North to a new Rebellion; but it was prevented, and they suffered for it. In the Year 1543, *Gardiner* that was the Bishop of *Winchester's* Secretary, and three other Priests, were condemned, and executed, for denying the King's Supremacy: and this was the last Occasion that was given to the King to shew his Severity on that account.

In



In all these Executions it cannot be denied Book I.  
but the Laws were excessively severe, and 1539.  
the Proceedings upon them were never  
tempered with that Mildness which ought  
to be often applied for the mitigating the  
rigour of Penal Laws: But tho they are  
much aggravated by Popish Writers; they  
were far short of the Cruelties used in  
Queen *Mary's* Reign.

To conclude, We have now gone through  
the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, who is  
rather to be reckoned among the Great,  
than the Good Princes. He exercised so  
much Severity on Men of both Perswasions,  
that the Writers of both sides have laid  
open his Faults, and taxed his Cruelty.  
But as neither of them were much obliged  
to him; so none have taken so much care  
to set forth his good Qualities, as his Ene-  
mies have done to enlarge on his Vices.  
I do not deny that he is to be numbered a-  
mong the *ill* Princes, yet I cannot rank him  
with the *worst*.

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T H E

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IN THE YEAR 1711, THE

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# BOOK II.

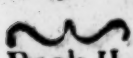
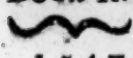
*Of the Life and Reign of King*  
EDWARD the VI.

**E**DWARD was the only Son of King *Henry*, by his best beloved Wife *Jane Seimour*; born the 12th. of October 1537. His Mother died the day after he was born, of a Distemper incident to Women in her condition, and was not ripped up by Chirurgeons, as some Writers have reported, on design to represent King *Henry* as barbarous and cruel to all his Wives. At six years of Age he was put into the hands of Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*, the one was to form his mind, and to teach him Philosophy and Divinity, the other was to teach him the Tongues and Mathematicks: other Masters were also appointed for the other parts of his Education. He discovered very early a good disposition to Religion and

1547.  
K. Edwards  
Birth and  
education.

B                      Vertue,

## Abridgment of the History


 Vertue, and a particular Reverence for the  
 Book II. Scriptures: for he took it very ill when one  

 1547. about him laid a great Bible on the Floor,  
 to step up on it to somewhat which was out  
 of his reach, without such an advantage. He  
 profited well in Letters, and wrote at eight  
 Years old Latin Letters frequently both to  
 the King, to *Q. Katherine Parre*, to the  
 Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his Uncle the  
 Earl of *Hartford*, who had been first made  
 Viscount *Beauchamp*, being the Heir by his  
 Mother of that Family, and was after that  
 advanced to be an Earl.

In the end of his Fathers life, it had been  
 designed to create him Prince of *Wales*: for  
 that was one of the reasons given to hasten  
 the attainder of the D. of *Norfolk*, because  
 he held some places during life, which the  
 King intended to put in other hands, in or-  
 der to that Ceremony. Upon his Fathers  
 death the E. of *Hartford* and Sir *Anth. Brown*  
 were sent to bring him up to the Tower of  
*London*: and when King *Henry's* death was  
 published, he was proclaimed King.

K. Hen. te-  
 stament.

At his coming to the Tower his Fathers  
 Will was opened, by which it was found  
 that he had named 16. to be the Governours  
 of the Kingdom, and of his Sons person  
 till he should be eighteen Years of Age.  
 These were the Archbishops of *Canterbury*,  
 the Lord *Wriothesly* Lord Chancellor, Lord  
*Sp. John* Great Master, Lord *Russel* Lord  
 Privy Seal, Earl *Hartford* Lord Great Cham-  
 berlain, Vis. *Lisle* Lord Admiral, *Tonstall* B.  
 of *Duresme*, Sir *Anth. Brown* Master of the  
 Horse,



## of the Reformation, &c.

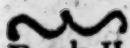
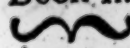
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Horfe, *S<sup>t</sup> Will. Paget* Secretary of State, *S<sup>t</sup> Ed.*  
*North* Chancellour of the Augmentations, *Sir*  
*Ed. Mountague* L<sup>d</sup> Chief Just. of the Common  
Pleas, Judge *Bromley*, *Sir Anth. Denny* and *Sir*  
*Will. Herbert* Chief Gentlemen of the Privy  
Chamber, *S<sup>t</sup> Ed. Wotton* Treasurer of *Calles*, &  
Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *Tork*.

Book II.

1547

They were also to give the Kings Sisters in Marriage, and if they married without their consent, they were to forfeit their right of succession : for the King was Impowered by Act of Parliament to leave the Crown to them with what limitations he should think fit to appoint. There was also a Privy Council named to be their Assistants in the Government; if any of the 16. died, the Survivors were to continue in the Administration, without a power to substitute others in their rooms who should die. It was now proposed that one should be chosen out of the 16. to whom Ambassadors should address themselves, and who should have the chief direction of affairs ; but should be restrained to do nothing but by the consent of the greater part of the other Co-executors. The Chancellor, who thought the Precedence fell to him by his Office, since the Archbishop did not meddle much in secular Affairs, opposed this much, and said it was a change of the Kings will ; who had made them all equal in power and dignity ; and if any were raised above the rest in Title, it would not be possible to keep him within due bounds, since great Titles make way for High Power : but the Earl of *Hart-*



 ford had so prepared his Friends, that it was  
 Book II. carried that he should be declared the Go-  
 vernour of the Kings Person, and the Pro-  
 1547. tector of the Kingdom, with this restricti-  
 A Protec- on, that he should do nothing but by the  
 tor cho- advice and consent of the rest. Upon this  
 sen. advancement, and the opposition made to it,  
 two Parties were formed, the one headed  
 by the Protector, and the other by the  
 Chancellour: the favourers of the Refor-  
 mation were of the former, and those that  
 opposed it were of the latter. The Chan-  
 cellor was ordered to renew the Commis-  
 sions of the Judges and Justices of Peace,  
 and King *Henry's* great Seal was to be made  
 use of, till a new one should be made. The  
 day after this all the Executors took their  
 Oaths to execute their trust faithfully, the  
 Privy Councillors were also brought into  
 the Kings presence, who did all express  
 their satisfaction in the choice that was  
 made of the Protector: and it was ordered  
 that all dispatches to foreign Princes should  
 be signed only by him. All that held Of-  
 fices were required to come and renew their  
 Commissions, and to swear Allegiance to  
 the King: among the rest, the Bishops came  
 and took out such Commissions as were  
 granted in the former Reign, only by those  
 they were subaltern to the Kings Vicege-  
 rent, but there being none now in that Of-  
 fice, they were immediately subaltern to the  
 King; and by them they were to hold their  
 Bishopricks only during the Kings pleasure,  
 and were impowered in the Kings name, as  
 his

Bishops  
 take out  
 Commis-  
 sions.

his Delegates, to perform all the parts of the Episcopal-function. *Cranmer* set an Example to the rest in taking out one of those.

Book II.

It was thought fit thus to keep the Bishops under the terror of such an Arbitrary power lodged in the King, that so it might be more easie to turn them out, if they should much oppose what might be done in points of Religion: but the ill consequences of such an unlimited power being well foreseen, the Bishops that were afterwards promoted were not so fettered, but were provided to hold their Bishopricks during life.

1547.

The late King had in his Will required his Executors to perform all the promises he had made; so *Paget* was required to give an account of the Promises the late King had made; and he declared upon Oath, that upon the prospect of the attainder of the D. of *Norfolk*, the King intended a Creation of Peers, and to divide his Lands among them; the Persons to be raised, were *Hartford* to be a Duke, *Essex* a Marquess, *Lisle*, *Russel*, *St. John*, and *Wriothesly* to be Earls, *Sir Tho. Seimour*, *Cheyney*, *Rich*, *Willoughby*, *Arundell*, *Sheffield*, *St. Leger*, *Wymbish*, *Vernon*, and *Danby* to be Barons, and a division was to be made of the Duke of *Norfolk's* Estate among them: some shares were also set off for others, who were not to be advanced in Title, as *Denny* and *Herbert*: and they finding *Paget* had been mindful of them, but had not mentioned himself, had moved the King for a share to him. The King appointed *Paget* to give notice of this to the

A Creation of Noblemen.

Book II.

1547.

Persons named : but many excused themselves, and desired no addition of honor, since the Lands which the King intended to give them were not sufficient to support that dignity. The Duke of *Norfolk* prevented all this, for being apprehensive of the ruine of his Family, if his Estate were once divided, he sent a message to the King, desiring him to convert it all to be a Revenue to the Prince of *Wales*. This wrought so much on the King, that he resolved to reward those he intended to raise another way, and he appointed that Estate to be kept entire, and the Kings distemper increasing on him, he at last came to a resolution, that the E. of *Hartford* should be made a Duke, & be made both Earl Marshal and Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Essex* a Marquess, *Lisle* and *Wriothesly* Earls, and *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Sheffield*, *St. Leger*, *Willoughby* and *Danby* Barons, with Revenues in Lands to every one of them : and the Earl of *Hartford* was to have the first good Deanery and Treasurership, and the four best Prebends that should fall in any Cathedral. But though the King had resolved on this, and had ordered *Page* to propole it to the Persons concerned, yet his Disease increased so fast on him, that he never finished it : and therefore he ordered his Executors to perform all that should appear to have been promised by him. The greatest part of this was also confirmed by *Denny* and *Herbert*, to whom the King had talked of it, and had shewed the design of it in writing, as it had been agreed between

*Page*



Page and him. So the Executors being concerned in this themselves, it may be easily supposed that they determined to execute this part of their trust very faithfully. Yet the King being then like to be engaged in Wars, they resolved neither to lessen his Treasure nor Revenue, but to find another way for giving the Rewards intended by the King, which was afterwards done by the sale and distribution of the Chantry Lands.

Book II.

1547.

The Castle of St. *Andrews* was then much pressed; so they sent down by *Balnaves*, the Agent of that party, 1180 *l.* for the pay of the Garrison; they gave also pensions to the chief supporters of their Interest in *Scotland*, to some 250, to others 200 *l.* or less, according to their interest in the Countrey. The King received the Ceremony of Knighthood from the Protector, and Knighted the Mayor of *London* the same day.

The grant of so many Ecclesiastical Dignities to the Earl of *Hartford*, was no extraordinary thing at that time, for as *Cromwel* had been Dean of *Wells*, so diverse other Lay-men were provided to them; which was thus excused, because there was no cure of Souls belonging to them; and during vacancies, even in times of Popery, the Kings had by their own Authority, by the Right of the *Regale*, given Institution to them, so that they seem'd to be no Spiritual employments, and the Ecclesiasticks that had enjoyed them, had been a lazy

Lay-men  
had Eccle-  
siastical  
Dignities.

Book II.

1547.

and sensual sort of men, so that their abusing those Revenues, either to luxury, or to the enriching their kindred by the spoils of the Church, had this effect that the putting them in Lay hands gave no great scandal; and that the rather, because a simple tonsure qualified a man for them by the Canons. These foundations were at first designed for a Nursery to the Diocess, in which the young Clergy were to be educated, or for a retreat to those who were more speculative, and not so fit for the service of the Church in the active parts of the Pastoral care; so it had been an excellent design to have reformed them, and restored them to the purposes for which they were at first intended: And it was both against *Magna Charta*, and all Natural Equity, to take them out of the hands of Churchmen, and give them to those of the Laity. But it was no wonder to see men yet under the influence of the Canon Law, commit such errors.

Some take  
down I-  
mages.

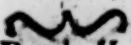
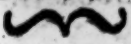
At the same time an accident fell out, that made way for great changes; the Curate and Church-wardens of *St. Martins*, in *London*, were brought before the Council for removing the Crucifix, and other Images, and putting some Texts of Scripture on the Walls of their Church, in the places where they stood: They Answered, That they going to repair their Church, removed the Images, and they being rotten, they did not renew them, but put places of Scripture in their room: They had also  
remo-

removed others, which they found had been abused to Idolatry. Great pains was taken by the Popish party to punish them severely, for striking terrour into others; but *Cranmer* was for the removing of all Images which were set up in Churches, expressly contrary both to the Second Commandment, and to the practice of the Christians for diverse ages: And though in compliance with the gross abuses of Paganism there was very early much of the Pomp of their worship brought into the Christian Church, yet it was long before this crept in. At first all Images were condemned by the Fathers: then they allowed the use of them, but condemned the worshipping of them, and afterwards in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries the worshipping of them was, after a long contest, both in the East and West, in which there were, by turns, General Councils, that both approved and condemned them, at last generally received, and then the reverence for them, and for some in particular, that were believed to be more wonderfully enchanted, was much improved by the cheats of the Monks, who had enriched themselves by such means: And it was grown to such a height, that Heathenism it self had been guilty of nothing more absurd towards its Idols; and the singular vertues in some Images, shewed they were not worshipp'd only as Representations, for then all should have equal degrees of veneration paid to them. And since all these abuses had risen meerly out of the bare use

Book II.

1547.

Arguments for  
and against  
it.

 use of them, and the setting them up be-  
 Book II. ing contrary to the command of God,  
 and the nature of the Christian Religion,  
 1547. which is simple and Spiritual; it seemed  
 most reasonable to cure the disease in its  
 root, and to clear the Churches of Images,  
 that so the people might be preserved from  
 Idolatry. These Reasons prevail'd so far,  
 that the Curate and Wardens were dismis-  
 sed with a Reprimand; they were required  
 to beware of such rashness for the future,  
 and to provide a Crucifix, and till that  
 could be had, they were ordered to cause  
 one to be painted on the Wall. Upon this,  
 Dr. Ridley being to preach before the King,  
 inveighed against the superstition towards  
 Images and Holy Water, and there was a  
 general disposition over all the Nation to  
 pull them down; which was soon after ef-  
 fected in *Portsmouth*. Upon that, *Gardiner*  
 made great complaints, he said the *Lutherans*  
 themselves went not so far, for he had seen  
 Images in their Churches; he argued from the  
 Kings face on the Coyn and Great Seal for  
 the use of Images, and that the Law of *Moses*  
 did no more bind in this particular, than in  
 that of abstaining from Blood: He distin-  
 guished between Image and Idol, as if the  
 one, which he said was only condemned,  
 was the representation of a False God, and  
 the other of the True; and he thought,  
 that as words conveyed by the Ear begat  
 devotion, so Images, by the conveyance  
 of the Eye, might have the same effect on  
 the mind: He also thought, a vertue might  
 be



be both in them and in Holy Water, as well as there was in *Christ's* Garments, *Pe-ter's* Shadow, or *Elisha's* Staffe: And there might be a Vertue in Holy Water, as well as in the Water of Baptism. He also mentioned the Vertue that was in the Cramp-Rings, blessed by the late King, which he had known to be much esteemed and sought after, and he hoped their young King would not neglect that gift. But to these things which *Gardiner* wrote in several Letters, the Protector, perhaps by *Crammer's* direction, wrote answer, that the Bishops had formerly argued much in another strain, that because the Scriptures were abused by the vulgar Readers, therefore they were not to be trusted to them; and so made a pretended abuse, the ground of taking away that, which by Gods special appointment was to be delivered to all Christians: This did hold much stronger against Images that were forbidden by God. The Brazen Serpent set up by *Moses*, by Gods own direction, was broken when abused to Idolatry; for that was the greatest corruption of Religion possible: And the Civil respect payed to the Kings Image on a Seal, or on the Coyn, did not justify the dotage upon Images. But yet the Protector acknowledged he had reason to complain of the forwardness of the people, that broke down Images without authority. This was the first step that was made in this Reign, towards a Reformation, of which the sequel shall appear afterwards. Orders were sent to the Justices of the

Book II.

1547.

the Peace, to look well to the Peace and  
 Book II. Government of the Nation, to meet often,  
 and every six weeks to advertise the Prote-  
 547. ctor of the state of the County to which  
 they belonged.

The Kings  
 Funeral.

The Funerals of the deceased King were performed with the ordinary Ceremonies at *Windsor*: One thing gave those that hated him some advantages; his Body was carried the first day to *Sheen*, which had been a Nunnery, and there some of the moisture and fat dropt through the Coffin; and to make it a compleat accomplishment of *Peyto's* denunciation, that *Dogs should lick his Blood*, it was said the Dogs next day licked it. This in a Corpulent man was so far from a wonder, that it had been a wonder if it had been otherwise, and was a certain sign of nothing but the Plummers carelesness, and their weakness and malice that made such Inferences from it. The King left six hundred pounds a year to the Church of *Windsor*, for Priests to say Mass for his Soul every day, and for four Obits a year, and Sermons, and distribution of Alms at every one of them, and for a Sermon every *Sunday*, and a maintenance for thirteen poor Knights, which was settled upon that Church by his Executors in due form of Law.

Soul Mas-  
 ses exami-  
 ned.

The Pomp of this Endowment now in a more Inquisitive Age led people to examine the usefulness of Soul Masses and Obits. Christ appointed the Sacrament for a commemoration of his Death among the living, but

but it was not easie to conceive how that was to be applied to departed Souls. For all the good that they could receive, seemed only applicable to the prayers for them; but bare Prayers would not have wrought so much on the people, nor would they have payed so dear for them. It was a clear project for drawing in the wealth of the World into their hands. In the Primitive Church there was a Commemoration of the Dead, or an Honourable Remembrance of them made in the daily Offices, and for some very small faults their names were not mentioned, which would not have had done if they had looked upon that as a thing that was really a relief to them in another state. But even this custome grew to be abused, and some inferred from it, that departed Souls, unless they were signally pure, passed through a Purgation in the next life, before they were admitted to Heaven: Of which St. *Austin*, in whose time the opinion was beginning to be received, says, that it was taken up without any sure ground in Scripture. But what was wanting in Scripture proof was supplied by Visions, Dreams and Tales, till it was generally received. King *Henry* had acted like one that did not much believe it, for he was to expect no good usage in Purgatory, from those Souls whom he had deprived of the Masses that were said for them in Monasteries, by destroying those Foundations. Yet it seems he intended to make sure work for himself, so that if Masses could avail the departed Souls,

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Souls, he reſolved to have his ſhare of it; and as he gratified the Priests by this part of his Endowment, ſo he pleaſed the people by appointing Sermons and Alms to be given on ſuch days. Thus he died as he had lived, ſwimming between both perſwaſions. And it occaſioned no ſmall debate, when men ſought to find out what his opinions were in the controverted points of Religion: For the eſteem he was in made both ſides ſtudy to juſtifie themſelves, by ſeeming to follow his ſentiments; the one party ſaid he was reſolved never to alter Religion, but only to cut off ſome abuſes, and intended to go no further than he had gone: They did therefore vehemently preſs the others to innovate nothing, but to keep things in the ſtate in which he left them, till his Son ſhould come of Age: But the oppoſite party ſaid, that he had reſolved to go a great way further, and particularly to turn the Maſs to a Communion; and therefore Religion being of ſuch conſequence to the Salvation of Souls, it was neceſſary to make all the haſte in Reformation that was fitting and decent. But now the diverſions of the Coronation took them off from more ſerious thoughts: The Protector was made Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Effex* Marquels of *Northampton*, the Lords *Liſle* and *Wriotheſley* Earls of *Warwick* and *Souhampton*, *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Willoughby* and *Sheffield*, were made Barons. In order to the Kings Coronation, the Office for that Ceremony was reviewed, and much ſhortned: One remarkable

The Coronation.



kable alteration was, that formerly the King used to be presented to the people at the corners of the Scaffold, and they were asked, If they would have him to be their King? Which looked like a rite of an Election, rather than a Ceremony of Investing one that was already King. This was now changed, and the people were desired only to give their assents and good will to his Coronation, as by the duty of Allegiance they were bound to do. On the twentieth of *February* he was Crowned, and a General Pardon was proclaimed, out of which the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, and some others were excepted.

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The Chancellour, who was lookt on as the head of the Popish party, gave now an advantage against himself, which was very readily laid hold on. He granted a Commission to the Master of the Rolls and three Masters of Chancery, of whom two were Civilians, to execute his Office in the Court of Chancery, as if he were present, only their Decrees were to be brought to him to be Signed, before they should be Inrolled. This being done without any authority from the Protector, and the other Executors, was thought a high Presumption, since he did hereby devolve on others that trust which was deposited in his hands. Upon this, some Lawyers complained to the Protector, and they seem'd also apprehensive of a design to change the Common Laws, which was occasioned by the Decrees made by the Civilians, that were

The Chancellour turned out.

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were more suted to the Imperial, than to the *English* Laws. The Judges being desired to give their opinions, made report, That what the Chancellour had done was against Law, and that he had forfeited his place, and might be imprisoned for it during pleasure. But he carried it high, he threatned both the Judges and Lawyers; and when it was urged that he had forfeited his place, he said he had it from the late King, who had likewise named him one of the Executors, during his Sons minority. But it was answered, That the major part had power over any of the rest, otherwise one of them might rebel, and pretend he could not be punished by the rest. He being driven out of that, was more humble, and acknowledged he had no Warrant for granting the Commission, he thought by his Office he might lawfully do it, he asked Pardon for his offence, and desired he might lose his place with as little disgrace as was possible; and then it was resolved on by the rest to take the Seal from him, and to Fine him as they should afterwards think fit. So he being suffered to go home with the Seal, the Lord *Seimour*, and some others were sent to demand it of him: He was also confined to his house, and kept under the terrour of an Arbitrary Fine. But upon giving a Bond of 4000 *l.* to be payed upon demand, he was freed from his confinement: Yet he was not put out of the trust of the King and the Government, for it seems the Council did not

## of the Reformation, &c.

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not look on that as a thing that was in their power to do.

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Soon after this, the Protector took a Patent for his Office under the Great Seal, then in the keeping of the Lord *St. John*; by which he was confirmed in his Authority, till the King should be eighteen years of Age; he was also authorized to bring in new Councillours, besides those enumerated in the Patent, who are both the Executors and the Councillours nominated by the late King: The Protector, with so many of the Council as he thought meet, were empowered to administer the affairs of the Kingdom; but the Council was limited to do nothing without his Advice and Consent. And thus was he now as well established in his Authority as Law could make him. He had a Negative on the Council, but they had none on him; and he could either bring his own creatures into it, or select a Cabinet Council out of it as he pleased: And the other Executors having now delivered up their Authority to him, were only Privy Councillors as the rest were, without retaining any singular authority peculiar to them, as was provided by King *Henry's* Will.

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March.  
Protectors  
Patent.

The first business of consequence that required great consideration, was the *Smalcaldick* War, then begun between the Emperor and the Princes of that League; the effects of which, if the Emperor prevailed, were like to be, not only the extirpating of

The affairs  
of Germa-  
ny.

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Luthe-

## Abridgment of the History

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*Lutheranism*, but his being the absolute Master of *Germany*; which the Emperor chiefly designed, in order to an Universal Monarchy, but disguised it to other Princes: to the *Pope*, he pretended that his design was only to extirpate Heresie; to other Princes, he pretended it was only to repress some Rebels, and denied all design of suppressing their new Doctrines; which he managed so artificially, that he divided *Germany* it self, and got some *Lutheran* Princes to declare for him, and others to be Neutrals: and having obtained a very liberal supply for his Wars with *France* and the *Turk*, for which he granted an Edict for liberty of Religion, he made Peace with both those Princes, and resolved to imploy that Treasure which the *Germans* had given him, against themselves. That he might deprive them of their chief Allies, he used means to engage King *Henry*, and *Francis* the First in a War, but that was, chiefly by their Interposition, composed. And now when the War was like to be carried on with great Vigour, they lost both those Princes; for as *Henry* died in *January*, so *Francis* followed him into another World, in *March* following. Many of their Confederates began to capitulate and forsake them; and the divided command of the Duke of *Saxe*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse* lost them great advantages, the former year; in which it had been easie to have driven the Emperor out of *Germany*: but it fell often out, that when the one was for engaging, the other was against it, which made



made many very doubtful of their success. The *Pope* had a mind to engage the Emperor in a War in *Germany*, that so *Italy* might be at quiet: and in order to that, and to Imbroil the Emperor with all the *Lutherans*, he published his Treaty with him, that so it might appear that the design of the War was to extirpate Heresie; though the Emperor was making great protestations to the contrary in *Germany*. He also opened the Council of *Trent*, which the Emperor had long desired in vain; but it was now brought upon him, when he least wished for it: for the Protestants did all declare, that they could not look upon it as a free General Council, since it was so entirely at the *Popes* devotion, that not so much as a Reformation of some of the grossest abuses that could not be justified, was like to be obtained, unless clogged with such Clauses as made it ineffectual. Nor could the Emperor prevail with the Council, not to proceed to establish the doctrine, and condemn Heresie; but the more he obstructed that by delays, the more did the *Pope* drive it on, to open the eyes of the *Germans*, and engage them all vigorously against the Emperor: yet he gave them such secret assurances of tolerating the *Ausburg* Confession, that the Marquess of *Brandenburg* declared for him, and that, joyned with the hopes of the *Electorate*, drew in *Maurice* of *Saxe*. The Count *Palatine* was old and feeble, the Archbishop of *Colen* would not make resistance, but

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The Council of Trent.

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retired, being condemned both by *Pope* and Emperor, and many of the Cities submitted. And *Maurice* by falling into *Saxe*, forced the Elector to separate from the Landgrave, and return to the defence of his own Dominions. This was the state of the affairs in *Germany*: so it was a hard point to resolve on, what answer the Protector should give to the Duke of *Saxe's* Chancellor, whom he sent over to obtain an Aid in Money, for carrying on the War. It was on the one hand of great importance to the safety of *England* to preserve the *German* Princes, and yet it was very dangerous to begin a War of such Consequence under an Infant King. At present they promised, within three Months, to send by the Merchants of the Still-yard 50000 Crowns to *Hamburg*, and resolved to do no more till new Emergents should lead them to new Councils.

Divisions  
in *England*.

The Nation was in an ill condition for a War, with such a mighty Prince, labouring under great distractions at home, the People generally cried out for a Reformation, they despised the Clergy, and loved the new Preachers. The Priests were for the most part both very ignorant and scandalous in their lives: many of them had been Monks, and those that were to pay them the pensions, that were reserved to them at the destruction of the Monasteries, till they should be provided, took care to get them into some small Benefice. The greatest part of the Parsonages were Impropriated,

propriated, for they belonged to the Monasteries, and the Abbots had only granted the Incumbents, either the Vicarage, or some small Donative, and left them the Perquisites raised by Masses and other Offices. At the suppression of those Houses there was no care taken to provide the Incumbents better; so they chiefly subsisted by Trentals & other Devices, that brought them in some small relief, though the Price of them was scandalously low, for Masses went often at 2 d. a Groat was a great bounty. Now these saw that a Reformation of those abuses, took the Bread out of their mouths; so their Interests prevailing more with them than any thing else, they were zealously engaged against all changes: but that same Principle made them comply with every change that was made, rather than lose their Benefices: Their poverty made them run into another abuse of holding more Benefices at the same time, a Corruption of so crying and scandalous a nature, that where ever it is practised, it is sufficient to possess the People with great prejudices against the Church that is guilty of it: there being nothing more contrary to the plainest impressions of reason, than that every Man who undertakes a Cure of Souls, whom at his Ordination he has vowed, that he would instruct, feed, govern, ought to discharge that trust himself, which is the greatest and most important of all others. The Clergy were encouraged in their Opposition to all changes, by the protection

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they expected from *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and *Tomstall*, who were Men of great reputation, as well as set in high places: and above all, Lady *Mary* did openly declare against all Changes, till the King should be of Age. But on the other hand, *Cranmer*, whose greatest weakness was his over-obsequiousness to King *Henry*, being now at liberty, resolved to proceed more vigorously: The Protector was firmly united to him, so were the young Kings Tutors, and he was as much engaged, as could be expected from so young a Person: for both his knowledge and zeal for true Religion were above his Age. Several of the Bishops did also declare for a Reformation, but Dr. *Ridley* now made Bishop of *Rocheſter*, was the Person on whom he depended most. *Latimer* was kept by him at *Lambeth*, and did great service by his Sermons, which were very popular, but he would not return to his Bishoprick, choosing rather to serve the Church in a more disengaged manner. Many of the Bishops were very ignorant, and poor spirited Men, raised meerly by Court-favour, who were little concerned for any thing but their Revenues. *Cranmer* resolved to proceed by degrees, and to open the reasons of every advance, that was made so fully, that he hoped by the blessing of God to possess the Nation of the fitness of what they should do, and thereby to prevent any dangerous opposition, that might otherwise be apprehended.



The power of the Privy Council had been much exalted in King *Henry's* time, by Act of Parliament; and one Proviso in it was, that the King's Council should have the same Authority when he was under Age, that he himself had at full Age: so it was resolved to begin with a General Visitation of all *England*, which was divided into six Precincts: and two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Register were appointed for every one of these. But before they were sent out, there was a Letter written to all the Bishops, giving them notice of it, suspending their Jurisdiction while it lasted, and requiring them to preach no where but in their Cathedrals, and that the other Clergy should not preach but in their own Churches, without Licence: by which it was intended to restrain such as were not acceptable, to their own Parishes, and to grant the others Licences to Preach in any Church of *England*. The greatest difficulty that the Reformers found, was in the want of able and prudent Men, the most zealous were too hot and indiscreet, and the few they had that were Eminent, were to be employed in *London*, and the Universities. Therefore they intended to make those as common as was possible, and appointed them to preach as Itinerants and Visitors. The only thing by which the People could be universally instructed, was a Book of Homilies; so the twelve first Homilies in the Book, still known by that

A Visitation of all the Churches.

May.

name, were compiled, in framing w<sup>ch</sup> the chief design was to acquaint the People aright with the nature of the Gospel Covenant, in which there were two extrems equally dangerous: the one was of those who thought the Priests had an infallible secret of saving their souls, if they would in all things follow their directions; the other was of those who thought that if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his Merits, they could not perish, which way soever they led their lives. So the mean between these was observed, and the People were taught both to depend on the sufferings of Christ, and also to lead their lives according to the rules of the Gospel, without which they could receive no benefit by his death. Order was also given, that a Bible should be in every Church, which though it was commanded by King *Henry*, yet had not been generally obeyed: and for understanding the New Testament, *Erasmus's* Paraphrase was put out in *English*, and appointed to be set up in every Church. His great reputation and learning, and his dying in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, made this Book to be preferred to any other, since there lay no prejudice to *Erasmus*, which would have been objected to any other Author. They renewed also all the Injunctions made by *Cromwel* in the former Reign, which after his fall were but little looked after, as those for instructing the people, for removing Images, and putting down all other customes abused to superstition;

perstition; for reading the Scriptures, and saying the Litany in *English*, for frequent Sermons and Catechising, for the Exemplary lives of the Clergy, and their labours in visiting the sick, and the other parts of their function, such as reconciling differences, and exhorting their people to Charities: and all who gave Livings by Simoniackal bargains, were declared to have forfeited their right of Patronage to the King. A great charge was also given for the strict observation of the Lords Day, which was appointed to be spent wholly in the service of GOD; it not being enough to hear Mass or Mattins in the Morning, and spend the rest of the Day in drunkenness and quarrelling, as was commonly practised; but it ought to be all employed either in the duties of Religion, or in acts of Charity, only in time of Harvest they were allowed to work on that and other Festival days. Direction was also given, for the bidding of Prayers, in which the King, as Supreme head, the Queen, and the Kings Sisters, the Protector and Council, and all the Orders of the Kingdom were to be mentioned; they were also to pray for departed souls, that at the last day, *we with them might rest both body and soul*. There were also Injunctions given for the Bishops, that they should preach four times a year in their Diocesses, once in their Cathedral, and thrice in any other Church, unless they had a good excuse to the contrary: that their Chaplains should preach often: and that

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Censures  
on the In-  
junctions.

that they should give Orders to none, but those that were duly qualified.

These were variously censured: The Clergy were only impowered to remove the abused Images, and the People were restrained from doing it, but this authority being put in their hands, it was thought they would be slow and backward in it. It had been happy for this Church, if all had agreed since that time, to press the Religious observation of the Lords Day, without starting needless questions about the Morality of it, and the obligation of the fourth Commandment; which has occasioned much dispute and heat: and when one Party raised the obligation of that duty to a pitch that was not practicable, it provoked others to slacken it too much: and this produced many sharp reflections on both sides, and has concluded in too common a neglect of that day, which instead of being so great a bond and instrument of Religion, as it ought to be, is become generally a day of idleness and looseness. The Corruptions of Lay Patrons and Simoniackal Priests have been often complained of, but no Laws nor Provisions have ever been able to preserve the Church from this great mischief; which can never be removed till Patrons look on their right to nominate one to the charge of Souls, as a trust for which they are to render a severe account to God, and till Priests are cured of their aspiring to that charge, and look on it with dread and great caution. The bidding of  
Prayers



Prayers had been the custome in time of Popery; for the Preacher after he had named his Text, and shewed what was to be the method of his Sermon, desired the People to joyn with him in a Prayer, for a blessing upon it; and told them likewise, whom they were to pray for, and then all the People said their Beads in silence, and he kneeling down said his, and from that this was called the bidding of the Beads. In this new direction for them, Order was given to repeat always the Kings Title of *Supream Head*, that so the People hearing it often mentioned, might grow better accustomed to it: but when instead of a bidding Prayer, an immediate one is come generally to be used, that enumeration of Titles seems not so decent a thing, nor is it now so necessary as it then was. The prayer for departed souls was now moderated, to be a prayer only for the consummation of their happiness at the last day; whereas in King *Henry's* time, they prayed that God would grant them the fruition of his presence, which implied a Purgatory. The Injunctions to the Bishops, directing them to give Orders with great caution, pointed out that by which only a Church can be preserved from Errors and Corruptions: for when Bishops do easily upon recommendations or emendicated Titles, confer Orders, as a sort of favour that is at their disposal, the ill effects of that must be fatal to the Church; either by the Corruptions that those

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The War  
with Scot-  
land.

those vicious Priests will be guilty of, or by the Scandals which are given to some good minds by their means, who are thereby disgusted at the Church for their sakes, and so are disposed to be easily drawn in to those Societies that separate from it.


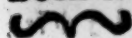
The War with *Scotland* was now in consultation; but the Protector being apprehensive that *France* would engage in the quarrel, sent over Sir *Fr. Brian* to congratulate with the new King, to desire a confirmation of the last Peace, and to complain of the *Scots*, who had broken their Faith with the King, in the matter of the Marriage of their Queen. The *French* King refused to confirm the Treaty, till some Articles should be first explained, and so he disowned his Fathers Embassadour; and for the *Scots*, he said he could not forsake them, if they were in distress. The *English* alledged that *Scotland* was subject to *England*; but the *French* had no regard to that, and would not so much as look on the Records that were offer'd to prove it; and said they would take things as they found them, and not look back to a dispute of two hundred years old. This made the *English* Council more fearful of engaging in a War, which by all appearance, would bring a War on them from *France*. The Castle of *St. Andrews* was surrendred, and all their Pensioners in *Scotland* were not able to do them great service: The *Scots* were now much lifted up; for as *England* was under an Infant King,

King, so the Court of *France* was governed by their Queen Dowagers Brothers. The *Scots* began to make Inroads on *England*, and Descents on *Ireland*. Commissioners were sent to the Borders to treat on both sides; and the Protector raised a great Army, which he resolved to command in person. But the meeting on the Borders was soon broke up, for the *Scots* had no Instructions to treat concerning the Marriage, and the *English* were ordered to treat of nothing else, till that should be first agreed to. And the Records that were shewed of the Homage done by the *Scottish* Kings to the *English* had no great effect; for the *Scots* either said they were forged, or forced from some weak Princes, or were only Homages for their Lands in *England*, as the Kings of *England* did Homage to the Crown of *France* for their Lands there. They also shewed their Records by which their Ancestors had asserted that they were free and independent of *England*. The Protector left Commissions of Lieutenancy to some of the Nobility, and devolved his own power, during his absence, on the Privy Council, and came to the Borders by the end of *August*. The *Scots* had abandoned the Passes, so that he found no difficulty in his March, and the small Forts that were in his way, were surrendered upon Summons. When the *English* advanced to *Falsid*, the *Scots* engaged with them in Parties, but lost 1300 men. The two Armies came in view; the *English* consisted

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August.


 fisted of fifteen thousand Foot and three  
 Book II. thousand Horse, and a Fleet under the  

 Command of the Lord *Clinton*, sailed along  
 1547. by them, as they marched near the  
 Coast; the *Scottish* Army consisted of  
 thirty thousand, and a good train of Ar-  
 tillery.

The Protector sent a Message to the  
*Scots*, inviting them by all the Arguments  
 that could be invented, to consent to the  
 Marriage; and if that would not be granted,  
 he desired engagements from them, that  
 their Queen should be contracted to no other  
 person, at least till she came of age, and  
 by the advice of the Estates, should choose  
 a Husband for herself. This the Protector  
 offered to get out of the War upon Ho-  
 nourable terms, but the *Scottish* Lords  
 thought this great Condescension was an  
 effect of fear, and believed the Protector  
 was straitned for want of Provisions; so  
 instead of publishing this offer, they resol-  
 ved to fall upon him next day: And so all  
 the return that was made, was, That if  
 the Protector would march back without  
 any act of Hostility, they would not fall  
 upon him. One went officiously with the  
 Trumpeter, and challenged the Protector,  
 in the Earl of *Huntley's* name, to decide  
 the matter by their Valour; but the Pro-  
 tector said he was to fight no way but at  
 the head of his Army, yet the Earl of *War-  
 wick* accepted the challenge, but *Huntley* had  
 given no order for it. On the twentieth  
 of *September* the Armies engaged. In the  
 begin-



beginning of the action, a shot from the Ships killed a whole lane of men, and disordered the High-landers, so that they could not be made to keep their Ranks. The Earl of *Angus* charged bravely, but was repulsed, and the *English* broke in with such fury on the *Scots*, that they threw down their Arms and fled. Fourteen thousand were killed, fifteen hundred taken Prisoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley*, and five hundred Gentlemen. Upon this, the Protector went on and took *Leith*, and some Islands in the *Firth*, in which he put Garrisons, and left Ships to wait on them; he sent some Ships to the mouth of *Tay* and took a Castle (*Broughty*) that commanded that River. If he had followed this blow, and gone forward to *Striveling*, to which the Governour, with the small remainders of his Army, had retired, and where the Queen was, it is probable, in the consternation in which they were, he might have taken that place, and so have made an end of the War. But the party his Brother was making at Court, gave him such an Alarm, that he returned before he had ended his business: And the *Scots* having sent a Message desiring a Treaty, which they did only to gain time, he ordered them to send their Commissioners to *Berwick*, and so marched back: He took in all the Castles in *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, and left Garrisons in them, and made the Gentry swear to be true to the King, and to promote the Marriage. He entred into

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The Battel  
of *Mussel-  
burgh*.

*Scotch*

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*Scotch* ground the second of *September*; and returned to *England* on the twenty ninth, with the loss only of sixty men, and brought with him a great deal of Artillery, and many Prisoners: This success did raise his reputation very high, and if he had now made an end of the War, it had, no doubt, establish'd him in his authority. The *Scots* sent no Commissioners to *Berwick*, but instead of that, they sent some to *France*, to offer their Queen to the Dauphin, and to cast themselves on the protection of that Crown; and so the Earl of *Warwick*, whom the Protector left to treat with them, returned back. The Protector, upon this great success, summoned a Parliament, to get himself established in his power.

The success of the Visitation.

The Visitors had now ended the Visitation, and all had submitted to them, and great Inferences were made from this, that on the same day on which the Images were burnt in *London*, their Army obtained that great Victory in *Scotland*. But all sides are apt to build much on Providence, when it is favourable to them, and yet they will not allow the Argument when it turns against them. *Bonner* at first protested that he would obey the Injunctions, if they were not contrary to the Laws of God, and the Ordinances of the Church; but being called before the Council, he retracted that, and asked Pardon; yet for giving terrour to others, he was for some time put in Prison upon it. *Gardiner* wrote

wrote to one of the Visitors, before they came to *Winchester*, that he could not receive the Homilies; and if he must either quit his Bishoprick, or sin against his Conscience, he resolved to chuse the former: Upon this, he was called before the Council, and required to receive the Book of Homilies; but he excepted to one of them, that taught that Charity did not justifie, contrary to the Book set out by the late King, confirmed in Parliament: He also complained of many things in *Erasmus's* Paraphrase: And being pressed to declare whether he would obey the Injunctions or not, he refused to promise it, and so was sent to the Fleet. *Cranmer* treated in private with him, and they argued much about Justification. *Gardiner* thought the Sacraments justified, and that Charity justified as well as Faith. *Cranmer* thought that only the merits of Christ justified, as they were applied by Faith, which could not be without Charity; so the question turned much on a different way of explaining the same thing. *Gardiner* objected many things to *Erasmus's* Book, particularly to some passages contrary to the power of Princes; it was answered, That Book was not chosen, as having no faults, but as the best they knew for clearing the difficulties in Scripture. *Cranmer* offered to him, that if he would concur with them, he should be brought to be one of the Privy Council; but he did not comply in this so readily as he ordinarily did to such offers.

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offers. Upon the Protectors return, he wrote to him, complaining of the Councils proceedings in his absence; and after he had given his objections to the Injunctions, he excepted to this, that they were contrary to Law, and argued from many precedents, that the Kings authority could not be raised so high; and that though *Cromwel* and others endeavoured to perswade the late King, that he might govern as the *Roman* Emperours did, and that his Will ought to be his Law; yet he was of another opinion, and thought that it was much better to make the Law the Kings Will. He complained also that he was hardly used, that he had neither Servants, Physicians nor Chaplains, allowed to wait on him; and that though he had a Writ of Summons, he was not suffered to come to the Parliament, which he said, might bring a Nullity on all their Proceedings. But he lay in Prison till the Act of General Pardon past in Parliament, set him at liberty. Many blamed the severity of these proceedings as contrary both to Law and Equity, and said that all people, even those who complained most of arbitrary power, were apt to usurp it when they were in authority: And some thought the delivering the doctrine of Justification in such nice terms was not sutable to the plain simplicity of the Christian Religion. Lady *Mary* was so alarmed at these proceedings, that she wrote to the Protector, that such changes were contrary to the honour due to her Fathers Memory, and it was against



against their duty to the King to enter upon such points, and endanger the publick Peace before he was of Age. To which he wrote answer, That her Father had died before he could finish the good things he had intended concerning Religion; and had expressed his regret both before himself and many others, that he left things in so unsettled a state; and assured her that nothing should be done but what would turn to the Glory of God, and the Kings Honour: He imputed her Writing to the importunity of others rather than to her self, and desired her to consider the matter better with an humble Spirit and the assistance of the Grace of God.


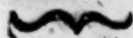
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The Parliament was opened the fourth of *November*, and the Protector was by Patent authorized to sit under the Cloath of State, on the Right hand of the Throne; and to have all the Honours and Priviledges that any Unkle of the Crown, either by Father or Mothers side, ever had. *Rich* was made Lord Chancellour. The first Act that past, five Bishops only dissenting, was, "A Repeal of all Statutes that had made any thing Treason or Felony in the late Reign, which was not so before, and of the six Articles, and the authority given to the Kings Proclamations, as also of the Acts against *Lords*. All who deni'd the Kings Supremacy, or asserted the Popes, for the first offence were to forfeit their goods, for the second were to be in a *Præmunire*, and

A Parliament meets;

An Act of Repeal.

 "were to be attainted of Treason for the  
 Book II. "third. But if any intended to deprive  
 "the King of his Estate or Title, that  
 1547. "was made Treason: none were to be ac-  
 "cused of Words but within a month after  
 "they were spoken; they also repealed the  
 "power that the King had of annulling all  
 "Laws made, till he was twenty four years  
 "of age, and restrained it only to an an-  
 "nulling them for the time to come, but  
 "that it should not be of force for the decla-  
 "ring them null from the beginning.

An Act a-  
 bout the  
 Sacra-  
 ment.

Another Act past with the same dissent,  
 for the Communion in both kinds, and  
 that the people should always communicate  
 with the Priest, and by it irreverence to the  
 Sacrament was condemned under severe pe-  
 nalties. Christ had instituted the Sacrament  
 in both kinds, and *S. Paul* mentions both. In  
 the Primitive Church that custome was uni-  
 versally observed, but upon the belief of  
 Transubstantiation, the reserving and car-  
 rying about the Sacrament were brought  
 in; this made them first endeavour to per-  
 swade the World that the Cup was not  
 necessary, for Wine could neither keep,  
 nor be carried about conveniently; but  
 it was done by degrees, the Bread was  
 for some time given dipt, as it is yet in  
 the *Greek Church*: but it being believed  
 that Christ was entirely under either kind,  
 and in every crumb, the Council of *Con-  
 stance* took the Cup from the Laity; yet  
 the *Bohemians* could not be brought to sub-  
 mit to it, so every where the use of the  
 Cup

Cup was one of the first things that was insisted on by those who demanded a Reformation. At first all that were present did communicate; and censures past on such as did it not: And none were denied the Sacrament but Penitents, who were made to withdraw during the Action. But as the devotion of the World slackned, the people were still exhorted to continue their Oblations, and come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it; and were made believe, that the Priest received it in their stead: The name *Sacrifice* given to it, as being a holy Oblation, was so far improved, that the World came to look on the Priests officiating, as a Sacrifice for the dead and living; From hence followed an infinite variety of Masses for all the accidents of humane life; and that was the chief part of the Priests trade, but it occasioned many unseemly jests concerning it, which were restrained by the same Act that put these down.

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Another Act past without any dissent, An Act  
 "That the *Conge d'elire*, and the Election  
 "pursuant to it, being but a shadow, since  
 "the person was named by the King, should  
 "cease for the future, and that Bishops  
 "should be named by the Kings Letters  
 "Patents, and thereupon be consecrated;  
 "and should hold their Courts in the Kings  
 "name, and not in their own, excepting  
 "only the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury's*  
 "Court: And they were to use the Kings  
 "Seal in all their Writings, except in Pre-

concern-  
ing the no-  
mination  
of Bishops.

38  
 Book II. "Sentations, Collations, and Letters of  
 "Orders, in which they might use their  
 "own Seals. The Apostles chose Bishops  
 1547. and Pastors by an extraordinary gift of  
 discerning Spirits, and proposed them to  
 the approbation of the people; yet they  
 left no rules to make that necessary:  
 In the times of Persecution, the Clergy  
 being maintained by the Oblations of the  
 people, they were chosen by them. But  
 when the Emperours became Christians,  
 the Town Councils and eminent men took  
 the Elections out of the hands of the Rab-  
 ble: And the Tumults in popular Electi-  
 ons were such, that it was necessary to regu-  
 late them. In some places the Cler-  
 gy, and in others the Bishops of the Pro-  
 vince made the choice. The Emperours  
 reserved the Confirmation of the Electi-  
 ons in the great Sees to themselves. But  
 when *Charles* the Great annexed great  
 Territories and Regalities to Bishopricks,  
 a great change followed thereupon:  
 Church-men were corrupted by this undue  
 greatness, and came to depend on the  
 humours of those Princes to whom they  
 owed this great encrease of their wealth.  
 Princes named them, and invested them in  
 their Sees: But the Popes intended to  
 separate the Ecclesiastical State from all  
 subjection to Secular Princes, and to make  
 themselves the heads of that State, at first  
 they pretended to restore the freedom  
 of Elections; but these were now ingrossed  
 in a few hands, for only the Chapters chose;  
 the



The Popes had granted thirty years before this to the King of *France*, the nomination to all the Bishopricks in that Kingdome ; so the King of *Englands* assuming it was no new thing, and the way of Elections, as King *Henry* had settled it, seemed to be but a Mockery : so this change was not much condemned. The Ecclesiastical Courts were the Concessions of Princes, in which, Trials concerning Marriages, Wills and Tithes, depended, so the holding those Courts in the Kings name, was no Invasion on the Spiritual Function ; since all that concerned Orders, was to be done still in the Bishops name, only Excommunication was still left as the Censure of those Courts, which being a Spiritual Censure, ought to have been reserved to the Bishop, to be proceeded in by him only with the assistance of his Clergy : and this fatal error then committed, has not yet met with an effectual regulation.

Another Act was made against idle Vagabonds, that they should be made slaves for two years, by any that should seize on them : This was chiefly designed against some Vagrant Monks, as appears by the Proviso's in the Act, for they went about the Countrey, infusing in the People a dislike of the Government. The severity of this Act made that the *English* Nation which naturally abhors slavery, did not care to execute it : and this made that the other Proviso's, for supplying those that were truly indigent, and were willing to be im-

An Act against Vagabonds.

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An Act for  
dissolving  
the Chan-  
tries.

The Con-  
vocation  
sat.

ployed, had no effect. But as no Nation has better, and more merciful Laws, for the supply of the Poor, so the fond pity that many shew to the common Beggars, which no Laws have been able to restrain, makes that a sort of dissolute and idle Beggars intercept much of that Charity, which should go to the relief of those, that are indeed the only proper objects of it. After this came the Act for giving the King all those Chantries, which the late King had not seized on by Vertue of the Grant made to him of them. *Cranmer* opposed this much: for the poverty of the Clergy was such that the State of Learning and Religion was like to suffer much, if it should not be relieved: and yet he saw no probable Fond for that, but the preserving these, till the King should come to be at Age; and allow the selling them, for buying in, of at least such a share of the Improvements, as might afford some more comfortable subsistence to the Clergy: yet though he, and seven other Bishops dissented, it was past: After all other Acts, a General Pardon, but clogged with some Exceptions, came last: some Acts were proposed, but not past; one was for the free use of the Scriptures; others were for a Court of Chancery in Ecclesiastical Causes, for Residence, and for a Reformation of the Courts of Common Law. The Convocation sat at the same time; and moved that a Commission begun in the late Reign of thirty two Persons for reforming the Ecclesiastical Laws

Laws might be revived, and that the inferior Clergy might be admitted to sit in the House of Commons, for which they alledged a Clause in the Bishops Writ and Ancient Custome; and since some Prelates had under the former Reign begun to alter the form of the Service of the Church, they desired it might be brought to perfection: and that some care might be had of supplying the poor Clergy, and relieving them from the Taxes that lay on them. This concerning the inferior Clergy's sitting in the House of Commons, was the subject of some debate; and was again set on foot both under Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, but to no effect. Some pretended that they always sat in the House of Commons, till the submission made in the former Reign, upon the suit of the *Pre-munire*: but that cannot be true, since in this Convocation, 17. years after that, in which many that had been in the former were present, no such thing was alledged. It is not clear who those Proctors of the Clergy that sat in Parliament, were: if they were the Bishops assistants, it is more proper to think they sat in the House of Lords. No mention is made of them, as having a share in the Legislative Authority, in our Records, except in the 21. of *Richard* the 2d. In which, mention is made, both of the Commons, the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and the Proctors of the Clergy concurring to the Acts then made: which makes it seem most probable that they

were,

 were the Clerks of the lower House of  
 Book II. Convocation. When the Parliament met  
 antiently all in one Body, the inferiour  
 1547. Clergy had their Writs, and came to it with  
 the other Freeholders, but when the two  
 Houses were separated, the Clergy became  
 also a distinct body, and gave their own  
 Subsidies, and medled in all the concerns,  
 and represented all the grievances of the  
 Church. But now by the Act made upon  
 the submission of the Clergy in the last  
 Reign, their power was reduced almost  
 to nothing: so they thought it reason-  
 able to desire, that either they might have  
 their Representatives in the House of  
 Commons, or at least, that matters of  
 Religion should not pass without the as-  
 sent of the Clergy. But the raising the  
 Ecclesiastical authority too high in former  
 times, made this turn, that it was now  
 depressed as much below its just limits,  
 as it was before exalted above them: as  
 commonly one extreme produces ano-  
 ther.

It was resolved that some Bishops and  
 Divines should be sent to *Windsor*, to fi-  
 nish some Reformatiions in the publick Of-  
 fices; for the whole lower House of Convo-  
 cation, without a contradictory Vote, a-  
 greed to the Bill about the Sacrament.  
 But it is not known what opposition it  
 met with in the Upper House. A Propo-  
 sition being also set on foot concerning  
 the lawfulness of the Marriage of the  
 Clergy, thirty five subscribed to the affirma-  
 tive,



tive, and only fourteen held the Negative.


Book II.

And thus ended this Session, both of Parliament and Convocation. And the Protector being now established in his power, and received by a Parliament, without contradiction, took out a new Commission, in which, besides his former authority, he was empowered to substitute one in his room, during his absence.

1547.

In *Germany* the Princes of the Smalcaldick League were quite ruined; the Duke of *Saxe* was defeated, and taken Prisoner; and used with great severity and scorn, which he bore with an invincible greatness of mind. The Landgrave was persuaded to submit, and had assurances of liberty given him; but by a trick unbecoming the greatness of the Emperour, he was seized on and kept Prisoner, contrary to faith given: upon this all the Princes and Towns, except *Magdeburg* and *Brême*, submitted and purchased their pardon, at what terms the Conquerour was pleased to impose. The Bishop and Elector of *Colen*, withdrew peaceably to a retirement, in which, after four years, he died: and now all *Germany* was at the Emperours mercy. Some Cathedrals, as that at *Amburg*, were again restored to the Bishops, and Mass was said in them. A Diet was also held, in which the Emperor obtain'd a Decree to pass, by which matters of Religion were referred wholly to his care. The Pope, instead of rejoycing at this blow


The affairs of *Germany*.

 blow given the *Lutherans*, was much troubled at it : for the Emperour had now in one Year made an end of a War, which he hoped would have Imbroiled him his whole life; so that *Italy* was now more at his mercy than ever : and it seemed the Emperour intended to enlarge his Conquests there, for the Pope's Natural Son being killed by a Conspiracy, the Governour of *Milan* seized on *Placentia*, which gave the Pope some jealousy, as if the Emperour had been privy to the design against his Son. The Emperour's Ambassadors were also very uneasy to the Legates at *Trent*, and prest a Reformation of abuses, and endeavoured to restrain them from proceeding in points of doctrine : so they took hold of the first pretence they had by the death of one that seemed to have some symptomes of the Plague, and removed it to *Bologna*. By this all the advantages the Emperour had from the Promises which the Protestants made, to submit to a free General Council assembled in *Germany*, were defeated : and it was thought a strange turn of Divine Providence, that when the extirpation of *Lutheranism* was so near being effected, a stop was put to it by that which of all things was least to be apprehended : since it might have been expected that the perfecting such a design would have made the Pope and the Emperor friends, though there had been ever so many other grounds of difference between them. So unusual a thing made

made the favourers of the Reformation ascribe it to the immediate care that Heaven had of that work, now when all the humane supports of it were gone. Upon this fatal revolution of affairs there, many *Germans*, and *Italians* that had retired to *Germany*, came over to *England*: *Peter Martyr* and *Bernardinus Ochinus* came over first, *Bucer* and *Fagius* followed. They were invited over by *Cranmer*, who entertained them at *Lambeth*, till they were provided. *Martyr* was sent to *Oxford*, and *Bucer* and *Fagius* to *Cambridge*; but the latter dyed soon after. There were some differences between the *French* and *English*, concerning some new Forts, which were made about *Bulloigne*, on both sides, yet a Truce was agreed on, for the Protector had no mind to engage in a War with *France*.

He had a new trouble raised up in his own Family, by the Ambition of his Brother, who thought that being the Kings Uncle, as well as his Brother was, he ought to have a larger share of the Government. He had made addressses to Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings sister, but finding no hopes of success, he made applications to the Queen Dowager, who married him a little undecently, for it was afterwards objected to him, that he married her so soon after the Kings death, that if she had conceived with Child immediately after the marriage, it might have been doubtful whether it was by the late King, or not: yet

Differences between the Protector and the Admiral.

 yet the marriage was for some time concealed, and the Admiral moved the King, and his Sisters, to write to the Queen, to accept him for her Husband: The Kings Sisters excused themselves, that it was not decent for them to interpose in such a matter, but the young King was more easie: so upon his Letter, the Queen published her marriage. The Admiral being now possessed of much Wealth, and the King coming often to the Queens Lodgings, he endeavoured to gain him, and all that were about him, and furnished the King often with Money. His design was, that whereas in former times, when Infant-Kings had two Uncles, one was Governour of his Person, and another was Protector of the Realm; so now these two Trusts might be divided, and that he might be made Governour of the Kings Person. This is the true account of the breach between those Brothers, for the story of the quarrel between their Wives about precedence, seems to be an ill-grounded fiction: for there was no pretence of a competition between the Queen Dowager and the Dutchess of Somerset; but the latter being a high Woman, might have perhaps inflamed her Husbands resentments, over whom she had an absolute power, which gave the rise to that story. The Protector was at first very easie to be reconciled to his Brother, but after the many provocations he received from him, he threw off



off nature too much. When he was in *Scotland*, the Admiral began to take advantage upon that to make a party: And the good advices that were given him by *Paget*, to look on those as the common Enemies of their Family, who were making this breach between them, had no effect to cure a mind hurried on by Ambition. It was the advertisement that was sent him of this, that made the Protector leave *Scotland* before he had finished his business there. During the Session of Parliament, the Admiral prevailed with the King to write with his own hand a Message to the House of Commons, to make him the Governour of his person. When the Admiral was making Friends in order to this, it came to his Brothers ears, before he had made any publick use of it: So he employed some to divert him from it, but with no success. Upon that, he was sent for to appear before the Council, but he refused to come; yet they having threatned to turn him out of all his places, and to send him to the *Tower*, he submitted, and the Brothers were reconciled: But the Admiral continued his secret practices still with those about the King.

*Gardiner* being included in the Act of Pardon, was set at liberty: He promised to receive and obey the Injunctions, only he excepted to the Homily of Justification; yet he complied in that likewise: but it was visible that in his heart he abhorred all their proceedings, though he outwardly

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1548.  
The M. of  
Northam-  
ptons Di-  
vorce.

conformed. The Second Marriage of the M. of *Northampton* was tried at this time, for his first Wife being convict of Adultery, he and she were separated. And he moved in the end of the former Reign, that he might be suffered to marry again; so a Commission was then granted, and was renewed in this Reign to some Delegates to examine what relief might be given to the innocent person in such a case. But this being new, and *Cramer* proceeding in it with his usual exactness, which is often accompanied with slowness, the Marquess became impatient, and married a second Wife: Upon this, the Council ordered them to be parted till the Delegates should give sentence. The Arguments for the second Marriage were these, Christ had condemned Divorces for other cases, but excepted that of Adultery. A Separation from Bed and Board, and the Marriage bond standing, was contrary to many places of Scripture, that mention the end of Marriage. *S. Paul* discharges the married person, if the other wilfully deserted him, much more will it follow in the case of Adultery. And though *St. Paul* says the Wife is tyed to her Husband as long as he liveth, that is only to be understood of a Husband that continued to be one; but that relation ceased by Adultery. The Fathers differed in their opinions in this matter, some allowed Marriage upon Divorce to the Husband, but denied it to the Wife; others allowed it to both. So *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius* and *Basil*; *Jerome* also justified *Fabiola* that

that had done it. *Chrysostome* and *Chryma-*  
*tus* allowed a second Marriage. *St. Austin*  
 was doubtful about it. The *Roman Empe-*  
*rours* allowed by their Laws, even after they  
 became Christians, Divorce, and a second  
 Marriage, both to Husbands and Wives,  
 upon many other Reasons besides Adultery;  
 as for procuring Abortions, treating for  
 another Marriage, being guilty of Treason,  
 or a Wives going to Plays without her  
 Husbands leave. Nor did the Fathers in  
 those times complain of those Laws: This  
 was also allowed by the Canons upon se-  
 veral occasions; but after the State of Cœ-  
 libate came to be magnified out of measure,  
 second Marriages were more generally con-  
 demned: And this was heightened when  
 Marriage was lookt on as a Sacrament.  
 Yet though no Divorces were allowed in  
 the Church, the Canonists found out many  
 shifts for annulling Marriages from the be-  
 ginning, to those that could pay well for  
 them. All these things being considered,  
 the Delegates gave sentence, confirming  
 the second Marriage, and dissolving the  
 first.

*Candlemas* and *Lent* were now approach-  
 ing, so the Clergy and People were much di-  
 vided with relation to the Ceremonies usual  
 at those times. By some Injunctions in *K. Hen-*  
*ry's* Reign it had been declared, that Fasting  
 in *Lent* was only binding by a positive Law.  
 Wakes and Plough Moondays were also  
 suppressed, and hints were given that other  
 customes which were much abused, should

Some Ce-  
 remonies  
 abrogated

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1548.

be shortly put down. The gross Rabble loved these things, as matters of diversion, and thought Divine Worship without them would be but a dull business. But others lookt on these as Relicts of Heathenism, since the *Gentiles* worshipped their Gods with such Festivities, and thought they did not become the gravity and simplicity of the Christian Religion. *Cranmer* upon this procured an Order of Council against the carrying of Candles on *Candlemas* day, of Ashes on *Ash-Wednesday*, and Palms on *Palm-Sunday*; which was directed to *Bonner* to be intimated to the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, and was executed by him. But a Proclamation followed against all that should make changes without Authority: The creeping to the Cross and taking Holy Bread and Water, were by it put down, and power was given to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* to certifie, in the Kings name, what Ceremonies should be afterwards laid aside; and none were to preach out of their own Parishes without licence from the King or the Visitors, the Arch-bishop or the Bishop of the Diocess. Some questioned the Councils power to make such Orders, the Act that gave authority to their Proclamations being repealed; but it was said the Kings Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters might well justifie their making such Rules. Soon after this, a General Order followed for a removal of all Images out of Churches: There were every where great contests whe-

Febr. 8.



whether the Images had been abused to Superstition or not. Some thought the consecration of them was an abuse common to them all. Those also that represented the Trinity, as a man with three faces in one head, or as an old man with a young man before him, and a Dove over his head; and some where the Blessed Virgin was represented as assumed into it, gave so great scandal, that it was no wonder, if men, as they grew to be better enlightened, could no longer endure them. The only occasion given to censure in this order, was, that all Shrines, and the Plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in to the Kings use. A Letter was at that time writ to all Preachers, requiring them to exhort the people to amend their lives, and forsake Superstition; but for things not yet changed, to bear with them, and not to run before those whom they should obey. Some hot men condemned this temper, as favouring too much of carnal Policy; but it was said, that though the Apostles by the gift of Miracles, had sufficient means to convince the World of their authority; Yet they did not all at once change the customes of the *Mosaical* Law, but proceeded by degrees; and Christ forbid the pulling up the Tares, lest good Wheat should be pulled up with them; so it was fit to wean people by degrees from their former superstition, and not to run too fast.

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1548.  
A new Office for the Communion.

Eighteen Bishops, and some Divines, were now imployed to examine the Offices of the Church, to see which of them needed amendment. They began with the Eucharist: They proceeded in the same manner that was used in the former Reign. For every one gave in his opinion in Writing, in answer to the questions that were put to them. Some of these are still preserved, which were concerning the Priests sole communicating, and Masses satisfactory for the dead, the Mass in an unknown tongue, the hanging it up and exposing it and the Sacrifice that was made in it. In most of those Papers it appears that the greatest part of the Bishops were still leavened with the old superstition, at least to some degree. It was clearly found that the plain Institution of the Sacrament was much vitiated, with a mixture of many Heathenish Rites and Poms, on design to raise the credit of the Priests, in whose hands that great performance was lodged. This was at first done to draw over the Heathens by those splendid Rites to Christianity; but Superstition once begun, has no bounds nor measures; and ignorance and barbarity encreasing in the darker ages, there was no regard had to any thing in Religion, but as it was set off with much Pageantry: And the belief of the Corporal presence raised this to a great height. The Office was in an unknown tongue, all the Vessels and Garments belonging to it, were consecrated with much devotion,

a great part of the Service was secret, to make it look like a wonderful charm; the Consecration it self was to be said very softly, for words that were not to be heard, agreed best with a change that was not to be seen: The many Gesticulations and the magnificent Processions all tended to raise this Pageantry higher. Masses were also said for all the turns and affairs of humane life. Trentals, a custome of having thirty Masses a year on the chief Festivities for redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, was that which brought the Priests most Money, for these were thought Gods best days, in which access was easier to him. On Saints days, in the Mass it was prayed, that by the Saints Intercession, the Sacrifice might become the more acceptable, and procure a larger Indulgence, which could not be easily explained, if the Sacrifice was the death of Christ; besides a numberless variety of other Rites, so many of the Relicts of Heathenism were made use of for the corrupting of the holiest institution of the Christian Religion. The first step that was now made, was a new Office for the Communion, that is, the distribution of the Sacrament, for the Office of Consecration was not at this time touched. It differs very little from what is still used. In the Exhortation, Auricular Confession to a Priest is left free to be done or omitted, and all were required not to judge one another in that matter. There was also a denunciation made requiring

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impenitent sinners to withdraw. The Bread was to be still of the same form that had been formerly used. In the distribution it was said, *The Body of our Lord, &c. preserve thy Body, and The Blood of our Lord, &c. preserve thy Soul.* This was Printed with a Proclamation, requiring all to receive it with such Reverence and Uniformity, as might encourage the King to proceed further, and not to run to other things before the King gave direction, assuring the people of his earnest zeal to set forth Godly Orders; and therefore it was hoped they would tarry for it: The Books were sent over *England*, and the Clergy were appointed to give the Communion next *Easter* according to them.

Articular  
Confession  
examined.

Many were much offended to find Confession left indifferent, so this matter was examined. Christ gave his Apostles a power of binding and loosing, and *S. James* commanded all to confess their faults to one another. In the Primitive Church all that denied the Faith, or otherwise gave scandal, were separated from the Communion, and not admitted to it till they made publick Confession: And according to the degrees of their sins, the time and degrees of publick Penitence, and their Separation were proportioned: Which was the chief subject of the Consultations of the Councils in the fourth and fifth Centuries. For secret sins the people lay under no obligation to confess, but they went often to their Priests for direction, even for these.

Near



Near the end of the fifth Century they began to have secret Penances and Confessions as well as publick : But in the seventh Century this became the general practice. In the eighth Century the Commutation of Penance for Money, or other Services done the Church, was brought in. Then the Holy Wars and Pilgrimages came to be magnified : Croisadoes against Hereticks, or Princes deposed by the Pope, were set up instead of all other Penances : Priests also managed Confession and Absolution, so as to enter into all mens secrets, and to govern their Consciences by them ; but they becoming very ignorant, and not so associated as to be governed by Orders that might be sent them from *Rome*, the Friars were every where imployed to hear Confessions, and many reserved Cases were made, in which the Pope only gave Absolution ; these were trusted to them, and they had the Trade of Indulgences put in their hands, which they managed with as much confidence as Mountebanks used in selling their Medicines, with this advantage, that the ineffectualness of their devices was not so easily discovered, for the people believed all that the Priests told them. In this they grew to such a pitch of confidence, that for saying some Collects, Indulgences for years, and for Hundreds, Thousands, yea, a Million of years ; were granted ; so cheap a thing was Heaven made. This trade was now thrown out of the Church, and private

Book II. Confession was declared indifferent: But it was much censured that no Rules for Publick Penance were set up at this time, but what were corrupted by the Canonists. The people did not think a Declarative Absolution sufficient, and thought it surer work when a Priest said, *I Absolve thee*, though that was but a late Invention. Others censured the words of distribution, by which the Bread was appropriated to the Body, and the Cup to the Soul: And this was soon after amended, only some words relating to it are still in the Collect, *We do not presume.*

Gardiner is imprisoned.

The affairs of State took up the Council, as much as the matters of Religion employed the Bishops, the War with Scotland grew chargeable, and was supported from France: but the sale of the Chantry Lands brought the Council in some Money. Gardiner was brought into new trouble, many complaints were made of him, that he disparaged the Preachers sent with the Kings licence into his Diocess, and that he secretly opposed all Reformation. So being brought before the Council, he denied most of the things objected to him, and offered to explain himself openly in a Sermon before the King. The Protector prest him not to meddle in matters, not yet determined, particularly the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and to assert the Kings power, though he was under age, and the Authority of the Council: for the Clergy

Clergy began generally to say, that though they acknowledged the Kings Supremacy; yet they would not yield it to the Council, and seemed to place it in some extraordinary grace conferred on the King by the Anointing in the Coronation. So the Protector desired *Gardiner* to declare himself in those points; but when he came to preach on *St. Peters* day, he inveighed against the *Popes* Supremacy, and asserted the Kings, but said nothing of the Council, nor the Kings power under Age: he also justified the suppression of Monasteries and Chantries, and the putting down Masses satisfactory, as also the removing of Images, the Sacrament in both kinds, and the new Order for the Communion; but did largely assert the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament: Upon which there was a noise raised by hot Men of both sides, during the Sermon, and this was said to be a stirring of sedition, and upon that he was sent to the *Tower*. This way of proceeding was thought contrary both to Law and Justice, and as all violent courses do, this rather weakened than strengthened those that were most concerned in it. *Crammer* did at this time set out a large Catechism, which he dedicated to the King. He insisted much on shewing, that Idolatry had been committed in the use of Images: he asserted the Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests, and their authority of Absolving sinners, and expressed great Zeal for setting up Penitentiary

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A new Li-  
turgy com-  
posed,

tentiary Canons, and exhorted the People to discover the state of their Souls to their Pastors: from this it appears, that he had changed the opinions, he formerly held, against the Divine Institution of the Ecclesiastical Offices.

But now a more general Reformation of the whole Liturgy was under consideration, that all the Nation might have an Uniformity in the Worship of God; and be no more cantoned to the several Uses of *Sarum*, *York*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford* and *Bangor*. Anciently the Liturgies were short, and had few Ceremonies in them: Every Bishop had one for his own Diocese: but in the *African* Churches, they began first to put them into a more Regular Form. *Gregory* the Great, labour'd much in this; yet he left *Austin* the Monk to his liberty, either to use the *Roman* or *French* forms in *England*, as he found they were like to tend most to Edification. Great Additions were made in every Age, for the private Devotions of some that were reputed Saints, were added to the Publick offices: and mysterious significations were invented for every new Rite, which was the chief study of some Ages: and all was swelled up to a vast bulk. It was not then thought on, that praying by the spirit, consisted in the inventing new words, and uttering them with warmth; and it seemed too great a subjection of the People to their Priests, that they should make them joyn with them in all their



their heats in prayer : and would have proved as great a resignation of their devotion to them, as the former superstition had made of their faith. It was then resolved to have a Liturgy, and to bring the Worship to a fit mean, between the Pomp of Superstition, and naked flatness. They resolved to change nothing, meerly in opposition to received practices, but rather in Imitation of what Christ did, in the Institution of the two Sacraments of the Gospel, that did consist of Rites used among the *Jews*, but blessed by him to higher purposes, to comply with what had been formerly in use, as much as was possible thereby to gain the People. All the Consecrations of Water, Salt, &c. in the Church of *Rome*, lookt like the remainders of Heathenism, and were laid aside : by these Devils being adjured, and a Divine vertue supposed to be in them, the People came to think, that by such observances, they might be sure of Heaven. The Absolutions, by which, upon the account of the Merits of the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, the sprinklings of Water, Fastings and Pilgrimages, with many other things, sins were pardoned, as well as on the account of the Passion of Christ, and the Absolution given to dead bodies, lookt like gross Impostures, tending to make the World think, that besides the painful way to Heaven, in a course of true Holiness, the Priests had secrets in their hands, of carrying People

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ple thither in another Method, and on easier terms; and this drew in the People to purchase their favour, especially when they were dying: so that, as their fears were then heightned, there was no other way left them, in the conclusion of an ill life, to dye with any good hopes, but as they bargained for them with their Priests; therefore all this was now cast out. It was resolved to have the whole worship in the Vulgar Tongue, upon which Saint Paul has copiously enlarged himself: and all Nations, as they were converted to Christianity, had their Offices in their Vulgar Tongue; but of late, it had been pretended, that it was a part of the Communion of Saints, that the worship should be every where in the same Language; though the People were hardly used, when for the sake of some Vagrant Priests, that might come from foreign Parts, they were kept from knowing what was said in the worship of God. It was pretended, that Pilate having ordered the Inscription on the Cross, in Greek, Latine, and Hebrew, these three Languages were sanctified; but it is not easie to understand what authority he had, for conferring such a priviledge on them. But the keeping all in an Unknown Tongue, preserved in dark Ages the esteem of their Offices, in which there were such Prayers and Hymns, and such Lessons, that if the People had understood them, they must have given great scandal:

dal : In many Prayers the pardon of sins, and the grace of God were asked, in such a stile, of the Saints, as if these had been wholly at their disposal, and as if they had been more merciful than God, or Christ. In former times all that did officiate, were peculiarly habited, and all their Garments were blessed : and these were considered, as a part of the train of the Mass; but on the other hand, white had been the colour of the Priests Vestments, under the *Mosaical* Law, and was early brought into the Christian Churches : it was a proper expression of Innocence, and it was fit that the worship of God should be in a decent habit. So it was continued, and since the Sacrifices offered to Idols, were not thereby according to Saint *Paul*, of their own nature polluted, and every Creature of God was good, it was thought, notwithstanding the former abuse, most reasonable to use these Garments still.

The Morning and Evening Prayers were put almost in the same Method, in which we use them still, only there was no Confession nor Absolution. In the Office for the Communion, there was a Commemoration of thanksgiving, for the Blessed Virgin, and all departed Saints, and they were commended to God's mercy and peace. In the Consecration, the use of crossing the Elements was retained, but there was no Elevation, which was at first used as an historical Rite, to shew Christ's

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The new  
Offices.

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Christ's being lifted up on the Cross; but was afterwards done, to call on the People to adore it. No stamp was to be on the Bread, and it was to be thicker than ordinary. It was to be put in the People's mouths by the Priests, though it had been anciently put in their hands. Some in the *Greek Church* began to take it in Spoons of Gold, others in a Linnen cloth, called their *Dominical*: but after the Corporal presence was received, the People were not suffered to touch it, and the Priests Thumbs and Fingers were peculiarly anointed, to qualifie them for that Contact. In Baptism, the Child's head and breast was crost, and an adjuration was made of the Devil, to depart from him: Children were to be thrice dipt, or in case of weakness, water was to be sprinkled on their faces, and then they were to be anointed. The sick might also be anointed, if they desired it. At Funerals, the departed Soul was recommended to God's mercy.

Private  
Communion.

The Sacraments were formerly believed, of such vertue, that they conferred Grace, by the very receiving them, *ex opere operato*: and so Women baptized. The Ancients did send portions of the Eucharist to the sick, but without any Pomp: which came in, when the Corporal Presence was believed. But instead of that, it was now appointed, that the Sacraments should be ministred to the sick, and therefore in case of weakness, Children might be baptized



tized in Houses; though it was more suitable to the design of Baptism, which was the admission of a new Member to the Church, to do it before the whole Congregation: But this, which was a provision for weakness, is become since a mark of Vanity, and a piece of affected state. It was also appointed, that the Sacrament should be given to the sick, and not to be sent from the Church, but Consecrated by their Bed-sides: since Christ had said, that where two or three were assembled, in his name, he would be in the midst of them. But it is too gross a Relique of the worst part of Popery, if any imagine, that after an ill life, some sudden sorrow for sin, with a hasty Absolution, and the Sacrament will be a passeport to Heaven, since the mercies of God in Christ are offered in the Gospel, only to those who truly believe, sincerely repent, and do change the course of their Lives.

The Liturgy thus compiled, was published with a Preface, concerning Ceremonies: the same that is still in the Common-Prayer-Book, written with extraordinary judgment and temper.

When the Book came into all Mens hands, several things were censured: as particularly the frequent use of the Cross and Anointing. The former began to be used, as a badge of a crucified Saviour: but the superstition of it was so much advanced, that *Latria* was given to the Crossier. The using it was also believed to

Censures  
past on  
the Com-  
mon-pray-  
er-Book.

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to have a Virtue for driving away evil spirits, and preserving one from dangers: so that a Sacramental vertue was affixed to it, which could not be done, since there is no Institution for it in Scripture: but the using it as a Ceremony, expressing the believing in a crucified Saviour, could import no superstition, since Ceremonies, that only express our duty or profession, may be used as well as words, these being signs, as the other are sounds, that express our thoughts. The use of Oyl in Confirmation, and receiving Penitents, was early brought into the Church: but it was not applied to the sick, till the 10th. Century; for the Ancients did not understand those words of Saint James, to relate to it, but to the extraordinary gift of healing, then in the Church.

All Preaching was for some time restrained.

While these changes were under Consideration, there were great heats every where, and a great contradiction among the Pulpits; some commending all the old customes, and others inveighing as much against them: so the power of granting Licences to preach, was taken from the Bishops, and restrained only to the King and the Archbishops; yet even that did not prove an effectual restraint. So a Proclamation was set out, restraining all Preaching, till the Order, which was then in the hands of the Bishops, should be finished; and instead of hearing Sermons, all were required to apply themselves to Prayer,

Prayer, for a blessing on that which was then a preparing, and to content themselves in the mean while with the Homilies.

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Affairs in Scotland.

The War of *Scotland* continued: the *Scots* received a great supply from *France* of 6000. Men, under the command of *Des-ffy*. The *English* had fortified *Haddington*, which was well situated, and lay in a fruitful Countrey: so the Governour of *Scotland* joyned an Army of *Scots* to the *French*, sat down before it. The Protector saw the inconveniencies of a long War coming on him, both with *Scotland* and *France*: so he offered a truce for 10. years, in which time he hoped by presents and practices, to gain, or at least to divide those, who were united by the War. Many of the *Scotch* Nobility liked the Proposition well: and indeed the insolence of the *French* was such, that instead of being Auxiliaries, they considered them as Enemies. But the Clergy were so apprehensive of a Match with *England*, that they never concluded themselves secure, till it were put out of their power: and so did vehemently promote the Proposition made by the *French*, of sending their Queen over to *France*: and this was in conclusion agreed to. So the *French* Ships that brought over the Auxiliaries, carried back the young Queen. The siege of *Haddington* went on: a great recruit sent to them from *Berwick* was intercepted, and cut off: but they were well sup-

F

plied

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plied with Ammunition and Provisions. Some Castles that the *English* had, were taken by surprize, and others by Treachery: a Fleet was sent to spoil the Coast of *Scotland*, under the Admirals command, but he made only two descents, in both which he had such ill success, that he lost near 1200. Men in them. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* led in a good Army to the Relief of *Haddington*: The Siege was opened, and the place well supplied. But as *Dessy* marched back to *Edenburgh*, his Souldiers committed great out-rages upon the *Scots*, so that if *Shrewsbury* had designed to fight, he had great advantages, since the *Scots* were now very weary of their imperious friends, the *French*: but he marched back, having performed that for which he was sent. *Dessy* followed him, and made a great inroad into *England*, but would not give the *Scots* any share of the spoil, and treated them in all things, as a conquered Province: and being in fear of them, he fortified himself in *Leith*, which before was but an inconsiderable Village. He also attacked the Fort which the *English* had in *Inchkeith*, and took it. But he was recalled upon the Complaints that were sent to the Court of *France*, against him. Now the People there began to feel their slavery, and to hate those that had perswaded the sending their Queen to *France*, and particularly the Clergy, and were thereby the more disposed to hearken to such



such Preachers, as discovered their Corruptions and superstition. *Maurice* Bishop of *Valence*, a Man celebrated for wisdom, and for so much moderation in matters of Religion, that it drew upon him the suspicion of Heresie, was sent over from *France* to be Chancellor of *Scotland*. This was like to give great discontent to the *Scottish* Nobility: so he returned to *France*. The *English* were now involved in a War, in which they could promise themselves no good issue, unless they could conquer the Kingdom: for the end they had proposed by a Match, was now put out of the power, even of the *Scots* themselves.

In *Germany*, the Emperor, after he had used all possible endeavours to bring the Council back to *Trent*, but without success, protested against those at *Bologna*: and ordered three Divines (one of them was esteemed a Protestant) to draw a Book for reconciling matters of Religion, which should take place in that interval, till a Council should meet in *Germany*, called from that the *Imperial*. The chief Concessions in favour of the Protestants were the Communion in both kinds, and that married Priests might officiate. A Diet was summoned, where *Maurice* was invested in the Electorate of *Saxe*, the degraded Elector being made to look on, and see the Ceremony; which he did with his ordinary constancy of mind: and without expressing any concern about it,

Affairs in  
Germany.

he returned to his studies, which were chiefly employed in the Scriptures. The Book was proposed to the Diet, and the Bishop of *Mentz*, without any Order, thanked the Emperour for it, in their name, and this was published, as the consent of the Diet. So slight a thing will pass for a consent of the States, by a Conquerour that looks on himself as above Law. Both Papists and Protestants were offended at it. It was condemned at *Rome*, where no Heresie was more odious than that the Secular Powers should meddle in points of Faith. The Protestants generally refused it: and the imprison'd Elector could not be wrought on to receive it, neither by the Offers that were made him, nor the severities he was put to, in all which he was always the same. Some contests arose between *Melancthon*, and the other *Lutherans*: for he thought the Ceremonies, being things indifferent, might be received; but the others thought these would make way for all the other errors of Popery. The Protestant Religion was now almost ruined in *Germany*, and this made the Divines turn their eyes to *England*. *Calvin* wrote to the Protector, and prest him to go on to a more compleat Reformation, and that Prayers for the Dead, the Chrism and Extreame Unction might be laid aside. He desired him to trust in God, and go on; and wished there were more preaching, and in a more lively way, than he heard was then in

## of the Reformation, &c.

in *England*: but above all things he pray-  
ed him to suppress that Impiety and pro-  
fanity, that, as he heard, abounded in  
the Nation.

In the end of this Year, a Session of  
Parliament met, but no Bill was finished  
before *February*; the first was concerning  
the married Clergy, which was finished by  
the Commons in six days, but lay six  
Weeks before the Lords: Nine Bishops,  
and four Temporal Lords protested a-  
gainst it. It was declared, that it were  
better for Priests to live unmarried, free  
of all worldly cares; yet since the Laws  
compelling it, had occasioned great filthi-  
ness, they were all repealed. The pre-  
sence of Chastity in the *Romish* Priests,  
had possessed the World with a high o-  
pinion of them, and had been a great re-  
flection on the Reformers, if the World  
had not clearly seen through it, and been  
made very sensible of the ill effects of it,  
by the defilement it brought into their  
own Beds and Families. Nor was there  
any point in which the Reformers had  
enquired more, to remove this prejudice,  
that lay against them. In the old Testa-  
ment, all the Priests were not only mar-  
ried, but the Office descended by Inheri-  
tance. In the New Testament, Marriage  
was declared *Honourable in all*: among the  
qualifications of Bishops and Deacons,  
their being the *Husbands of one Wife*, are  
reckoned up. Many of the Apostles were  
married, and carried their Wives about

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A Session  
of Parlia-  
ment.

An Act for  
the marri-  
age of the  
Clergy.

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In Trullo.

with them, as also *Aquila* did *Priscilla*. For bidding to marry, is reckoned a mark of the Apostasie, that was to follow. Some of the first Hereticks inveighed against Marriage, but the Orthodox justified it, and condemned those Churchmen that put away their Wives : which was confirmed by a General Council, in the fifth Century : *Paphnutius*, in the Council of *Nice*, opposed a motion that was made for it : *Hilary* of *Poitiers* was married, *Basil* and *Nazianzen's* Fathers were Bishops. *Heliodorus*, the first that wrote a Romance, moved that Bishops might live singly ; but till then every one did in that as he pleased, and even those who were twice married, if the first was before their Conversion might be Bishops, which *Jerome* himself, though very partial to celibate, justifies ; all the Canons made against the married Clergy, were only positive Laws, which might be repealed. The Priests in the *Greek* Church did still live with their Wives at that time ; In the West, the Clergy did generally marry ; and in *Edgar's* time, they were for the most part married in *England*. In the Ninth Century *P. Nicolas* prest the Celibate much, but was opposed by many. In the Eleventh Century, *Gregory* the 7th. intending to set up a new Ecclesiastical Empire, found that the unmarried Clergy would be the surest to him, since the married gave Pledges to the State, and therefore he proceeded furiously in it ; and called all the married Priests,



Priests, *Nicolaitans*: yet in England, *Lanfranc* did only impose the Celibate on the Prebendaries, and the Clergy that lived in Towns: *Anselm* imposed it on all without exception; but both he, *Bernard*, and *Petrus Damiani*, complain, that *Sodomy* abounded much, even among the Bishops: And not only *Panormitan*, but *Pius* the 2d. wished, that the Laws for the Celibate were taken away. So it was clear, that it was not founded on the Laws of God: and it was a sin to force Churchmen to vow that which sometimes was not in their power: and it was found by examining the forms of Ordination, that the Priests in England had made no such vows; and even the vow in the *Roman Pontifical* to live chaste, did not import a tie not to marry, since a Man might live Chaste in a married state. Many lewd stories were published of the Clergy, but none seemed more remarkable, than that of the *Pope's* Legate, in *Henry* the second's time, who the very same Night after he had put all the married Clergy from their Benefices, was found a-bed with a Whore. It was also observed that the unmarried Bishops, if they had not Bastards to raise, were as much set on advancing their Nephews and Kindred, as those that were married could be: Nor did any Persons meddle more in secular affairs, than the unmarried Clergy: and it might be reasonable to restrain the Clergy, as was done in the Primitive Church, from converting the

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An Act  
confirm-  
ing the Li-  
turgy.

Goods of the Church, which were entrusted to their care, to the enriching of their Families. None appeared more zealous for procuring this liberty, than several Clergy men that never made use of it, in particular *Ridley* and *Redmayn*.

Another Act past, confirming the Liturgy, which was now finished, Eight Bishops, and three Temporal Lords only protesting against it. There was a long preamble, setting forth the inconvenience of the former Offices, and the pains that had been taken to reform them; and that diverse Bishops and Divines had, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with an uniform agreement concluded on the new Book: therefore they Enacted, That by *Whitsunday* next, all Divine Offices should be performed according to it, and if any used other Offices, for the first offence they should be imprisoned six months, lose their Benefices for a second, and be imprisoned during life for the third offence. Some censured those words, that the Book was composed by the *Aid of the Holy Ghost*; but this did not import an *Inspiration*, but a *Divine assistance*. Many wondered to see the Bishops of *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Chichester*, and *Westminster*, protest against the Act, since they had concurred in composing the Book. It does not appear whether they were dissatisfied at any thing in it, or whether they opposed the imposing it on such severe penalties; or if they were displeased at a Proviso that was added

added for the using of Psalms taken out of the Bible, which was intended for the singing Psalms then put in Verse, and much used both in Churches and Houses, by all that loved the Reformation. In the Primitive times the Christians used the Psalter much, and the chief devotion of the Monastick Orders consisted in repeating it often. *Apollinaris* put it in Verse, and both *Nazianzen* and *Prudentius* wrote many devout Hymns in Verse: Others, though in Prose, were much used, as the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the *Te Deum*: afterwards the greatest part of the Offices was put in *Latin* Rhimes, and so now some *English* Poets turned the Psalter into Verse, which was then much esteemed; but both our Language and Poetry, being since that time much improved, this work has now lost its beauty so much, that there is great need of a new Version.

Another Act past about Fasting, declaring, "That though all days and meats  
"were in themselves alike, yet fasting, being a great help to vertue, and to the  
"subduing the Body to the mind, and  
"a distinction of meats conducing to the  
"advancement of the Fishing trade, it was  
"Enacted, That *Lent*, and all *Fridays* and  
" *Saturdays*, and *Ember* days should be  
"Fish days, under several penalties, excepting the weak, or those that had the  
"Kings Licence. Christ had told his Disciples, that when he was taken from them, they should *fast*: So in the Primitive

An Act for Fasting.



## Abridgment of the History

the Church they fasted before *Easter*; but the same number of days was not observed in all places; afterwards other rules and days were set up: but *S. Austin* complained, that many in his time placed all their Religion in observing them. Fast-days were turned to a mockery in the Church of *Rome*, in which they both dined, and did eat Fish dress exquisitely, and drank Wine. This made many run to another extrem against all Fasts, or distinction of days, which certainly, if rightly managed, and without superstition, is a great means for keeping up a seriousness of mind, which is necessary for maintaining the power of Religion. Other Bills were proposed, but not past, one for making it Treason to marry the Kings Sisters, without the consent of the King and Council: But the forfeiture of Succession in that case was thought sufficient. The Bishops did also complain of their want of power to repress vice, which so much abounded: But the Laity were so apprehensive of coming again under an Ecclesiastical Tyranny, that they would not consent to it. A Proposition was also made for bringing the Common Law into a body, in imitation of *Justinians Digests*: But it fell, being too great a design to be finished under an Infant King.

The Admirals Attainder.

In this Parliament the Admiral was Attainted. The Queen Dowager died in *September* last, not without suspicion of Poison; upon that he renewed his Addresses



addresses to Lady Elizabeth; but finding it in vain to expect that his Brother and the Council would consent to it, and that her right to the Succession would be cut off if he married her without their consent, he resolved to make sure of the Kings Person, till he made a change in the Government: He fortified his House, he laid up a Magazine, and made a party among the Nobility. The Protector employed many to divert him from those desperate designs, but his Ambition being incurable, he was forced to proceed to extremities against him. He sent him Prisoner to the Tower in January, with his Confederate *Sharrington*, who being Vice-Treasurer of the Mint at *Bristol*, had supplied him with Money, and had coined much base Money for his use. Many were sent to persuade him to a better mind, and his Brother was willing to be again reconciled to him, if he would retire from the Court and business; but he was intractable. So, many Articles were objected to him, both of his designs against the State, and of his Malversation in his Office, several Pyrates having been entertained by him. Many Witnesses and Letters under his own hand, were brought against him. Almost the whole Council went to the Tower and examined him; but he refused to make any Answers, and said he expected an open Tryal. The whole Council upon this, acquainted the King with it, and desired him to refer the matter to the Parliament, which he granted.

Upon

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Upon that, some Counsellors were again sent to see what they could draw from him, but he was sullen, and after he had answered to three of the Articles, denying some particulars, and excusing others, he refused to go any further. The business was next brought into the House of Lords: The Judges and the Kings Council delivered their opinions, That the Articles objected to him were Treason. Then the Evidence was given, upon which the whole House past the Bill, the Protector only withdrawing: They dispatched it in two days. In the House of Commons many argued against Attainders without a Trial, or bringing the party to make his Answers. But a Message was sent from the King, desiring them to proceed as the Lords had begun. So the Lords that had given Evidence against him in their own House, were sent down to the Commons: Upon which they past the Bill; and the Royal Assent was given the fifth of *March*: And afterwards, the King being prest to it by the Council, gave order for the Execution, which was done the twentieth of *March*. This was the only cure that his Ambition seemed capable of: Yet it was thought against nature, that one Brother should fall by the hand of another: And the Attainting a man without hearing him, was condemned, as contrary to Natural Justice; so that the Protector suffered almost as much by his death as he could have done by his life.

L.

The

The Laity and Clergy both gave the King Subsidies, and so the Parliament was Prorogued. The first thing taken into care was the receiving the Act of Uniformity: Some Complaints were made of the Priests way of officiating, that they did it with such a tone of voice, that the people did not understand what was said, no more than when the Prayers were said in *Latine*; so this Temper was found: Prayers were ordered to be said in Parish Churches in a plain voice, but in Cathedrals the old way was still kept up, as agreeing better with the Musick used in them: Though this seemed not very decent in the Confession of sins, nor in the *Litany*, where a simple voice, gravely uttered, agreed better with those devotions, than those Cadences and unmusical notes do. Others continued to use all the Gesticulations, Crossings and Kneelings, that they had formerly been accustomed to: The people did also continue the use of their Beads, which were brought in by *Peter Hermit*, in the eleventh Century, by which the repeating the Angels Salutation to the Virgin, was made a great part of their devotion, and was ten times said for one *Pater Noster*. Instructions were given to the Visitors to put all these down in a new Visitation, and to enquire if any Priests continued to drive a trade by Trentals or Masses for departed Souls. Order was also given, that there should be no Private Masses at Altars in the corners

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A new Visitation.

Book II. **W**ners of Churches, and that there should  
 be but one Communion in a day, unless  
 it were in great Churches, and at high  
 1549. Festivals, in which they were allowed to  
 have one Communion in the morning, and  
 another at noon. The Visitors made their  
 Report, That they found the Book of  
 Common Prayer received universally over  
 all the Kingdom, only Lady *Mary* conti-  
 nued to have Mass said according to the  
 abrogated forms: Upon this, the Coun-  
 cil wrote to her to conform to the Laws,  
 for the nearer she was to the King in  
 blood, she was so much the more obliged  
 to give a good Example to the rest of  
 the Subjects. She refused to comply with  
 their desires, and sent one to the Empe-  
 rour for his Protection; upon which the  
 Emperour pressed the *English* Embassadors,  
 and they promised that for some time she  
 should be dispensed with. The Emperour  
 pretended afterwards that they made him  
 an absolute Promise that she should never  
 be more troubled about it, but they said  
 it was only a Temporary Promise. A Match  
 was also proposed for her with the King of  
*Portugal's* Brother, but it was let fall soon  
 after. She refused to acknowledge the  
 Laws made when the King was under age,  
 and carried herself very high, for she knew  
 well that the Protector was then afraid of  
 a War with *France*, and that made the Em-  
 perours Alliance more necessary to *England*.  
 Yet the Council sent for the Officers of her  
 household, and required them to let her  
 know



know that the Kings Authority was the same when he was a child as at full age; Book III. and that it was now lodged in them, and though as they were single persons, they 2549. were all inferiour to her, yet as they were the Kings Council, she was bound to obey them, especially when they executed the Law; which all Subjects of what rank soever were bound to obey. Yet at present they durst go no further for fear of the Emperours displeasure: So it was resolved to connive at her Mass.

The Reformation of the greatest Errors in Divine Worship being thus established; *Cramer* proceeded next to establish a form of Doctrine: the chief point that hitherto was untouched, was the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which the Priests magnified as the greatest Mystery of the Christian Religion, and the chief privilege of Christians; with which the simple and credulous vulgar were mightily affected. The *Lutherans* received that which had been for some Ages the Doctrine of the *Greek Church*, that in the Sacraments there was both Bread and Wine, and also the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. The *Helvetians* lookt on it only as a Commemoration of the Death of Christ. The Princes of *Germany* were at great pains to have these reconciled, in which *Bucer* had laboured with great Industry: But *Luther* being a man of a harsh temper, did not easily bear contradiction, and was too apt to assume, in

Disputes concerning Christ's presence in the Sacrament.

in effect, that Infallibility to himself, which  
 Book II. he condemned in the Pope. Some took a  
 middle way, and asserted a Real Presence,  
 1549. but it was not easie to understand what  
 was meant by that expression, unless it  
 was a real application of Christs death;  
 so that the meaning of *Really* was *Effectually*. But though *Bucer* followed this me-  
 thod, *Pet. Martyr* did in his Lectures declare  
 plainly for the *Helvetians*. So *Dr. Smith*,  
 and some others, intended publickly to  
 oppose and affront him; and challenged  
 him to a dispute about it, which he readily  
 accepted, on these conditions, That the  
 Kings Council should first approve of it,  
 and that it should be managed in Scripture  
 terms: For the strength of those Doctors  
 lay in a nimble managing of those barba-  
 rous and unintelligible terms of the Schools,  
 which though they sounded high, yet re-  
 ally they had no sense under that: So all  
 the Protestants resolved to dispute in Scrip-  
 ture terms, which seemed more proper  
 in matters of Divinity, than the Meta-  
 physical language of School-men. The  
 Council having appointed *Dr. Cox*, and  
 some others, to preside in the dispute,  
*Dr. Smith* went out of the way, and a lit-  
 tle after fled out of *England*. But before  
 he went, he wrote a very mean sub-  
 mission to *Cranmer*: Other Doctors dispu-  
 ted with *Peter Martyr* concerning Tran-  
 substantiation, but that had the common  
 fate of all publick disputes, for both sides  
 gave out that they had the better. At the  
 same

At the same time there were also disputes at Cambridge, which were moderated by Ridley, that was sent down thither by the Council. He had fallen on *Bertrams* Book of the Sacrament, and wondred much to find so celebrated a Writer in the ninth Century, engage so plainly against the Corporal Presence: This disposed him to think that at that time it was not the received belief of the Church: He communicated the matter to *Cranmer*, and they together made great Collections out of the Fathers on this head, and both wrote concerning it.

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The substance of their Arguments was, That as Christ called the Cup *the Fruit of the Vine*, so S. Paul called the other Element *Bread*, after the Consecration; which shews that their natures were not changed. Christ speaking to *Jews*, and substituting the Eucharist in the room of the Paschal Lamb, used such expressions as had been customary among the *Jews* on that occasion; who called the Lamb the *Lords Passeeover*, which could not be meant literally, since the *Passeeover* was the Angels passing by their Houses, when the first born of the *Egyptians* were killed: So it being a commemoration of that, was called the *Lords Passeeover*; and in the same sense did Christ call the Bread *his Body*: Figurative expressions being ordinary in Scripture, and not improper in Sacraments, which may be called Figurative actions. It was also appointed for a Remembrance

Arguments against the Corporal Presence.


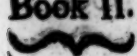
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1549.

of Christ, and that supposes absence: The Elements were also called by Christ his *Body broken*, and his *Blood shed*; so it is plain, they were his Body, not as it is glorified in Heaven, but as it suffered on the Cross: And since the Scriptures speak of Christs continuance in Heaven till the last day, from thence they inferred, that he was not Corporally present. And it was shewed, that the *eating Christs Flesh*, mentioned by S. John, was not to be understood of the Sacrament, since of every one that did eat, it is said that he has *Eternal life in him*. So that was to be understood only of receiving Christs doctrine, and he himself shewed it was to be meant so, when he said, that *the Flesh profited nothing, but his words were Spirit and Life*. So that all this was according to Christs ordinary way of teaching in Parables. Many other Arguments were brought from the nature of a body, to prove that it could not be in more places than one at once, and that it was not in a place after the manner of a Spirit, but was always extended. They found also that the Fathers had taught, that the Elements were still Bread and Wine, and were the Types, the Signs and Figures of Christs Body, not only according to *Tertullian*, and S. *Austin*, but to the Ancient Liturgies, both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches. But that on which they built most, was that *Chrysostome*, *Gelasius*, and *Theodoret*, arguing against those who said that the hu-



humane nature in Christ was swallowed up by its Union to his Godhead, They illustrated the contrary thus; as in the Sacrament, the Elements are united to the Body of Christ, and yet continue to be the same that they were formerly, both in Substance, Nature, and Figure; So the Humanity was not destroyed by its Union with the Word. From which it appeared that it was then the received opinion, that the Elements were not changed; and therefore all those high expressions in *Chrysostome*, or others, were only strains and figures of Eloquence, to raise the devotion of the people higher in that holy action. But upon those expressions the following Ages built that opinion, which agreeing so well with the Designs of the Priests, for establishing the authority of that Order, which by its Character was qualified for the greatest performance that ever was; no wonder they took all imaginable pains to infuse it into the belief of the world, and those dark ages were disposed to believe every thing so much the rather the more incredible that it appeared to be. In the ninth Century many of the greatest men of that Age wrote against it, and none of them were for that condemned as Hereticks: The contrary opinion was then received in *England*, as appeared by one of the *Saxon Homilies* that was read on *Easter-day*, in which many of *Bertrams* words were put. But it was generally received in the eleventh and twelfth


 Century, and fully established in the fourth  
 Book II. Council in the *Lateran*. At first it was be-  

 lieved that the whole Loaf was turned into  
 1549. one entire Body, so that in the distributi-  
 on every one had a Joint given him; and ac-  
 cording to that conceit, it was given out  
 that it did often bleed, and was turned  
 into pieces of Flesh. But this seemed an  
 undecent way of handling Christs glorified  
 Body, so the School-men did invent a  
 more seemly notion, That a Body might  
 be in a place after the manner of a Spirit,  
 so that in every crumb there was an entire  
 Christ; which though it appeared very  
 hard to be conceived, yet it generally pre-  
 vailed, and then the Miracles fitted for the  
 former opinion were no more heard of,  
 but new ones agreeing to this hypothesis  
 were set up in their stead. So dextrously  
 did the Priests deceive the World; and  
 because a mouthful of Bread, or a draught  
 of Wine, would have been shrewd tem-  
 ptations to make the people think it was  
 really Bread and Wine that they got,  
 therefore as the Cup was taken away, so  
 instead of Bread, a thin wafer was given,  
 to make the People more easily imagine,  
 that it was only the accidents of Bread,  
 that were received by them. Upon these  
 grounds did *Cranmer* and *Ridley* go in this  
 matter.

*Anabap-  
 tists in  
 England.*

There were some Anabaptists at this time  
 in *England*, that were come over out of *Ger-  
 many*: of them there were two sorts,  
 some only objected to the baptizing of  
 Children,

Children, and to the manner of it by sprinkling, and not by dipping: others held many opinions, that had been anciently condemned as Heresies: they had raised a cruel War in *Germany*, and set up a new King at *Munster*, but all these carried the name Anabaptists from that of Infant-baptism, though it was one of the mildest Opinions that they held. Some of these came over to *England*, so a Commission was granted to some Bishops and others, to search them out, and to proceed against them. Several Persons were brought before them, and did abjure their errors, which were, 'That there was not a Trinity of Persons, that Christ was not God, 'and took not flesh of the Virgin, and 'that a Regenerate man could not sin. One *Joan Bocher*, called *Joan of Kent*, denied that Christ took flesh of the substance of his Mother; she was out of measure vain and conceited of her notions, and rejected all the Instruction that was offered her with scorn: so she was condemned as an obstinate Heretick, and delivered to the secular Arm. But it was very hard to perswade the King to sign the Warrant for her Execution; he thought it was an Instance of the same spirit of cruelty, for which the Reformers condemned the Papists: It was hard to condemn one to be burnt for some wild Opinions, especially when they seemed to flow from a disturbed brain; but *Cranmer* perswaded him, that he being Gods Lieutenant, was

Two were burnt.

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bound in the first place to punish those offences committed against God: He also alledged the Laws of *Moses*, for punishing blasphemers: and he thought errors that struck immediately against the Apostles Creed, ought to be capitally punished. These things did rather silence than satisfie the young King: he signed the Warrant with tears in his eyes, and said to *Cranmer*, that since he resigned up himself in that-matter to his judgment, if he sinned in it, it should lie at his door. This struck the Archbishop: and both he, and *Ridley* took her into their Houses, and tried what reason, joyned with gentleness, could do. But she was still more and more Insolent, so at last she was burnt, and ended her life very indecently, breaking out often in jeers, and reproaches, and was looked on as a person fitter for *Bedlam*, than a Stake. Some time after that, a Dutchman, *George van Parre*, was also condemned and burnt, for denying the Divinity of Christ, and saying, that the Father only was God. He had led a very Exemplary life, both for fasting, devotion, and a good conversation, and suffer'd with extraordinary composedness of mind. These things cast a great blemish on the Reformers: It was said, they only condemned cruelty, when it was exercised on themselves, but were ready to practise it, when they had power. The Papists made great use of this afterwards in *Queen Maries* time, and what *Cranmer* and *Ridley* suffered



suffered in her time, was thought a just retaliation on them from that wise Providence, that dispenses all things justly to all Men. For the other sort of Anabaptists, no severities were used against them, but several Books were written to justify Infant-baptism; and the Practice of the Church so early begun, and so universally spread, was thought a good Plea, especially being grounded on such Arguments in Scripture, as did demonstrate, at least, the lawfulness of it.


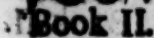
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Another sort of People was much complained of, who built so much on the received Opinion of Predestination, that they thought they might live as they pleased; since nothing could resist an absolute Decree: nor did those who had advanced that Opinion, know well how to hinder People, from making such Inferences from it; all they did, was to warn them, not to pry too much into those secrets: but if the Opinion was true, there was no need of much prying to make such conclusions from it. This had a very ill effect on the Lives of many, who thought they were set loose from all obligations: and that was indeed the greatest scandal of the Reformation. The Preachers were aware of it, and apprehensive of the judgments of God, that would follow on it: of which they gave the Nation free warning.

The Doctrine of Predestination abused.

At this time a sort of Contagion of Tumults in several parts of England. rage run over all the Commons of England. The Nobility and Gentry finding more



**Book II.** more advantage by the Trade of Wool, than by their Corn, did generally inclose their Grounds, and turn them to Pasture: and so kept but few Servants, and took large Portions of their Estates into their own hands : and yet the numbers of the People increased, Marriage being allowed to all; the abrogation of many Holy-days, and the putting down of Pilgrimages, gave them also more time to work. So the Commons feared to be reduced to great slavery. Some proposed an *Aggrian* Law, for regulating this, and the King himself wrote a Discourse about it, that there might be some equality in the division of the soyl among the Tenants. The Protector was a great friend to the Commons, and complained much of the Oppression of the Landlords. There was a Commission issued out, to enquire concerning Inclosures and Farms, and whether those who purchased the *Abbey* Lands, and were obliged to keep up Hospitality, performed it, or not ? and what encouragement they gave to Husbandry ? but this turned to nothing. So the Commons rose every where, yet in most of the Inland Counties, they were easily dispersed ; and it was promised that their grievances should be redressed. The Protector against the Councils mind, set out a Proclamation against all new Inclosures, and for indemnifying the People, for what was past. Commissioners were also sent every where, to hear and determine all Complaints,

plaints, but the power that was given to them, was so arbitrary, that the Landlords called it an Invasion of Property, when their Rights were thus subjected to the pleasure of such Men. The Commons understanding that the Protector was so favourable to them, were thereby the more encouraged: and it was afterwards objected to him, that the Convulsions *England* fell in, soon after, was chiefly occasioned by his ill Conduct; in which he was the more blamed, because he acted against the mind of the greatest part of the Council.

In *Devonshire*, the Insurrection was more formidable; the superstition of the Priests joining with the rage of the Commons, so they became quickly 10000. strong. The Lord *Russel* was sent against them with a small force, and was ordered to try, if the matter could be composed without blood: but *Arundel*, a Man of Quality, commanding the Rebels, they were not a loose body of People, easily dissipated. They sent their Demands to Court, 'That the old Service and Ceremonies might be set up again, that the 'Act of the six Articles, and the Decrees 'of General Councils might be again in 'force: that the Bible in *English* should 'be called in, that Preachers should pray 'for the Souls in Purgatory, that Cardinal 'Pool should be restored, that the half of 'the *Abbey* Lands should be restored, to 'found two *Abbeys* in every County, and 'that Gentlemen of 100. Marks a Year, 'might

The Rebel-  
lion in  
*Devonshire*,  
June 10.

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might have but one Servant : and they desired a safe Conduct for their Chief Leaders, in order to the Redress of their particular Grievances : afterwards they moderated their desires, only to points of Religion. *Cranmer* writ a large Answer to these, shewing the Novelty and Superstition of those Rites and Ceremonies, and of that whole way of worship, of which they were so fond : and that the amendments and changes had been made, according to the Scriptures, and the Customs of the Primitive Church : and that their being fond of a Worship, which they understood not, and being desirous to be kept still in ignorance, without the Scriptures, shewed their Priests had greater power over them, than the common reason of all Mankind had : as for the six Articles, that Act had never past, if the King had not gone in Person to the Parliament, and argued for it : yet he soon saw his error, and was slack in executing it. After that there was a high threatening Answer sent them in the King's name, charging them for their Rebellion, and blind obedience to their Priests. In it the King's authority, under Age, was largely set forth, for by the pretence of the Kings Minority, the People generally were made believe, that their rising in Arms, was not Rebellion. In Conclusion, they were earnestly invited to submit to the Kings mercy, as others had done, whom the King had not only pardoned, but



but had redressed their just Grievances. At the same time the like spirit of rage inflamed the Commons in *Norfolk*; they pretended nothing of Religion, but only to destroy the Gentry, and put new Counsellors about the King: they were led by one *Ket* a Tanner, and in a few days grew to be 20000. They encamped near *Norwich*, and committed great out-rages: *Parker*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, went in among them, and with great freedom inveighed against their Rebellion and Cruelty, and warned them of the Judgments of God that would fall on them, for which he was in great danger of his life. *Ket* was now their Prince, and in imitation of the ancient *Druids*, he did Justice upon complaints brought before him, under an Oak called from thence the *Oak of Reformation*. The Marquess of *Northampton* was sent against them, with Orders to keep at a distance, and cut off their provisions. There was at the same time a rising likewise in *Yorkshire*, where the Commons being encouraged by some pretended Prophecies run together, and committed acts of great barbarity on some Gentlemen. The *French* King hearing of all this, resolved to take his advantage, and regain *Bulloigne*: three days before he marched with his Army, the *English* Embassadour pressing him upon the Intimations that were given him of his designs, he assured him on the faith of a Gentleman, that he would not begin a War,

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And in *Norfolk*.

The *French* begin a War.

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The Rebels every where routed.

War, till he first gave warning. But many Princes reckon it a part of their Prerogative, to be exempted from such ties, by which only poor Subjects ought to be fettered. All these things falling upon the Government at once; it may be easily imagined, they were under no small consternation. A Fast was proclaimed at Court, where *Cranmer* preached with great freedom and vehemence: he laid out before them their vitious and ill lives, particularly of those who pretended a love to the Gospel; and set before them the Judgments of God that they might look for, and enlarged on the fresh example of the Calamities of *Germany*; and intimated the sad apprehensions he had of some terrible stroke, if they did not repent and amend their lives.

The Rebels in *Devonshire* besieged *Exeter*: the Citizens resisted their assaults, but could not so easily resist the assaults that hunger made on them, for they were not provided for a Siege. They were reduced at last to great extremities, which made the Lord *Russel*, after he had got such supplies, as he judged necessary, resolve to fall upon them. They possessed themselves of a Bridge behind him, both to inclose him, and to hinder others from joyning with him; but he marched back, and did quickly beat them from it, with the loss of 600. of their Men: and by that essay he perceived how easie a work it would be to disperse them: he upon that

that marched forward to *Exeter*; and beat the Rebels from a Bridge, that opened his way to their Camp, killing a 1000. of them: upon which they raised the Siege, and retired in great disorder to *Lanceston*: he pursued them, as long as they kept in a body, and great numbers of them were killed, some of their Leaders and Priests were taken and hanged. So happily was that Rebellion subdued, without any loss on the Kings side. But the Marquess of *Northampton* was not so successful in *Norfolk*: he marched into *Norwich*. The Rebels having a great Party in the Town, which was a place of no strength, fell in upon him next day, and drove him out of it: 100. of his Men were killed, and thirty taken Prisoners. Upon this they were much lifted up, but the Earl of *Warwick* coming thither with 6000. Men, that were prepared to be sent to *Scotland*, they, after some skirmishes with him, were forced to retire, for they had wasted all the Countrey about, so, that their Provisions failed them: but *Warwick* followed them close, and killed great numbers, and dispersed them. *Ket*, and some of their Leaders were taken, and hanged in Chains. The news of this going to *Yorkshire*, the Rebels there that had not exceeded 3000. accepted the offer of pardon, that was sent them; and some of the more factious, that were animating them, to make new commotions, were taken and hanged. On the 21. of

*August*,

**Book II.** *August*, the Protector published a General Pardon, in the Kings name, of all that had been done before that day. Many of the Council opposed this, and judged it better to keep the Commons under the lash; but the Protector thought, that as long as such Members continued in such fears, it would be easie to raise new disorders: so he resolved, though without the Majority of the Council, to go through with it. This disgusted the Council extremely, who thought he took too much upon him.

*A Visitation of Cambridge* followed soon after this. *Ridley* was the chief of the Visitors: When he found that a design was laid to suppress some Colledges, under pretence of uniting them to others, and to convert some Fellowships that were provided for Divines, to the study of the Civil Law, he refused to go along in that with the other Visitors; and particularly opposed the suppression of *Clare Hall*, which they began with. He said, the Church was already too much robbed, and yet some Mens ravenousness was not satisfied. It seemed the design was laid, to drive both Religion and Learning out of the Land; therefore he desired leave to be gone. The Visitors complained of him to the Protector, and imputed his concern for *Clare-Hall* to his partiality for the North, where he was born, that being a House for the Northern Counties. Upon that, the Protector wrote him a chiding



ding Letter, but he answered it with the freedom that became a Bishop, who was resolved to suffer all things, rather than sin against his Conscience: and the Protector was so well satisfied with him, that the Colledge was preserved. There was at this time an end put to a very foolish Controversie, that had occasioned some heat, concerning the pronounciation of the *Greek* Tongue; which many used more suitably to an *English* than a *Greek* accent. *Cheek* being the Professor of *Greek*, had taught the truer Rules of Pronunciation, but *Gardiner* was an Enemy to every thing that was new, and so he opposed it much in King *Henry's* time: and *Cheek* was made leave the Chair: but both he, and Sir *The. Smith* wrote in Vindication of his Rules, with so much Learning, that all People wondred to see so much brought out upon so slight an occasion; but *Gardiner* was not a Man to be wrought on by reason. Now the matter was settled, and the new way of pronounciation took place, and that the rather, because the Patrons of it were in such power, the one being the King's Tutor, and the other made Secretary of State: and that *Gardiner*, who opposed it, was now in the *Tower*. So great an Influence has Greatness, in supporting the most speculative and indifferent things.

*Bonner* was now brought in trouble: It was not easie to know how to deal with him, for he obeyed every Order that was sent

*Bonnors*  
Process.

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August.

sent him; and yet it was known that he secretly hated and condemned all that was done; and as often as he could declare that safely, he was not wanting by such ways to preserve his interest with the Papists: And though he obeyed the Orders of Council, yet he did it in so remiss a manner, that it was visible that it went against the grain. So he was called before the Council, and charged with several particulars, That whereas he used to officiate himself on the great Festivals, he had not done it since the New Service was set out; that he took no care to repress Adultery, and that he never Preached. So they ordered him to officiate every Festival, to Preach once a quarter, and to begin within three weeks, and Preach at *S. Pauls*; and to be present at every Sermon when he was in health, and to proceed severely against those who withdrew from the new Service, and against Adulterers. They required him to set forth the heinousness of Rebellion, and the nature of true Religion, and the indifference of outward Ceremonies, and particularly to declare that the Kings Authority was the same, and as much to be obeyed before he was of age as after. On the first of *September* he Preacht; he said nothing of the power of Kings under Age, and spoke but little to the other points; but enlarged much on the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament. *Hooper*, and *W. Latimer*, two of his hearers, informed against him. So a Commission

sion was granted to *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, the two Secretaries of State, and *May*, Dean of *S. Pauls*, to examine that matter, and to imprison, or deprive him, as they should see cause for it: They were also authorized to proceed in the summary way of the Spiritual Courts. He was summoned to *Lambeth*, where he carried himself with great disrespect and disingenuity towards the Delegates; and gave the Informers very foul language; and in his whole discourse he behaved himself like one that was disturbed in his Brain. When the Commission was read, he made a Protestation against it, reserving to himself power to except to diverse things in it. He said the Informers were Hereticks, and only prosecuted him because he had taught the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. At the next meeting Secretary *Smith* was there, who was not present at the first: So upon that account, *Bonner* protested against him, he also charged Heresie on his Accusers, who were thereby under Excommunication, and so not capable to appear in any Court. He denied that any Injunctions had been given him under the Kings hand or Signet; he said he had preached against the late Rebels, which implied that the Kings power was compleat, though he was under age. It was answered to this, that the Court might proceed *ex Officio*, without Informers: And that the Injunctions, concerning the heads of which he was required to treat in his Sermon, were read

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to him by one of the Secretaries, and were given him by the Protector, and they were afterwards called for, and that Article about the Kings power under age was, by Order of Council, added; and the Paper was delivered to him by Secretary *Smith*. At a third appearance the Informers offered to vindicate themselves of the charge of Heresie; but after some scurrilous language given them by *Bonner*, he was called upon to answer to the main business, which was, his saying nothing of the Kings power under age; to this he said, he had prepared notes about it, both from the instances in Scripture, of *Solomon*, *Joash* and *Manasse*, of *Josiah* and *Joakim*, that reigned under age; as also several instances in the English story, as *Henry the Third*, *Edward the Third*, *Richard the Second*, *Henry the Sixth*, and *Edward the Fifth*; but he pretended these things had escaped his memory, and a long account of the defeat of the Rebels being sent to him by the Council, with an Order to read it, had put him in some confusion, and that the Book in which he had put his Notes, fell from him; for which he appealed to his Chaplains, whom he had employed to gather for him the names of those Kings who had reigned before they were of age. But this did not satisfy the Court, so they proceeded to examine Witnesses, whom *Bonner* intangled all he could with Interrogatories, and the niceties of the Canon Law. *Bonner* built his main defence on this,



this, that in the Paper which the Protector gave him, that Article concerning the Kings age was not mentioned, but was afterwards added by *Smith*; so that he was not bound to obey it: But it was proved that the whole Council ordered that addition to be made. *Smith* had treated him somewhat sharply, for his carriage was very provoking; upon that, he renewed his former Protestation against him, and refused to look on him as his Judge, since he had declared himself so partial against him: He complained, that *Smith* had compared him to Thieves and Traytors. *Smith* said it was visible he acted as they did: To which *Bonner* answered, that as he was Secretary of State he honoured him; but as he was Sir *Thomas Smith*, he used, and he defied him. And being threatened with Imprisonment, he seemed not much concerned at it; he said he had a few Goods, a poor Carkass, and a Soul; the two former were in their power, but he would take care of the latter. And upon that he appealed to the King, and would not answer any more, unless *Smith* should withdraw: For that contempt he was sent to the *Marshalsea*; but as he was carried away, he broke out into great passion both against *Smith* and *Cranmer*. Being called again before them, he adhered to his former Appeal, and some new matter being brought against him, he refused to answer. Great endeavours were used to perswade him to submit, and promises

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And deprivation.

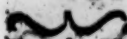

were made him of gentler usage for the future, but he continued obstinate, and instead of retracting, he renewed his Appeal. So on the first of *October*, *Cramer*, *Ridley*, *Smith* and *May*, pronounced sentence of deprivation, because he had not obeyed the Orders of the Protector and Council, nor declared the Kings power while he was under age. He was sent back to prison till the King should give further Order, and a large Record was made of his whole deportment during the Process, and put in the Register of the See of *London*, which he took no care to deface when he was afterwards restored. This was much censured, as at best a great stretch of Law, if not plainly contrary to it. Some complained that Lay-men concurred in such a Sentence: But it was said this was no Spiritual Censure, for he was not degraded, but only deprived of his Bishoprick; and he had taken a Commission for holding it during the Kings pleasure, and so those that were Commissioned by the King might well deprive him, since he held it so precariously. It was also said that *Constantine* had appointed Triers for hearing the Complaints made of some Bishops; and they examined the business of *Cecilian* and the *Donatists*, upon an Appeal from some Synods; that had before judged that matter. That same Emperour did also by his own authority, turn out the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and the Bishop of *Constantinople*: And though the Ortho-

dox

dox party complained of his doing it upon the false suggestions of the *Arians*, yet they did not deny his authority in such cases: And it was ordinary for the Emperours to appoint the Bishops that followed their Court to judge some other Bishops, which was not done Canonically, but by the Emperours authority. But to the matter of the Sentence, it was also said that it was hard to deprive *Bonner* for an omission, that might be only a defect of his memory, as he pretended it was, though few believed that. Upon the whole matter, it was visible that it had been resolved to turn him out on the first occasion that could be found, and that they took hold of him on this disadvantage, and that the fault was rather aggravated for his sake, than he deprived for the fault, which would have been more gently past over in another; but he had been fierce and cruel, and so was much hated, and little pitied. He remained a Prisoner till Queen *Mary's* Reign, but continued to behave himself more like a Glutton than a Divine; for he sent about to his Friends to furnish him well with Puddings and Pears, and gave them all to the Devil that did not supply him liberally: Such Curses were strange acts of Episcopal Jurisdiction; yet they were mild, compared to those he gave out when he was again restored to his See in the next Reign, by which he condemned so many Innocents to the fire.

The *English* affairs in Foreign parts went very unsuccessfully this year, for when they

Ill success  
of the *En-  
glish*.

 were so distracted at home, no wonder if  
 Book II. both the *French* and *Scots* took advantage  
 from thence. Most of the Forts about *Bul-*  
 1549. *loigne* were taken by the *French*, but  
 though those that commanded them, did  
 for their own excuse, pretend they were ill  
 provided, yet the *French* Writers publish-  
 ed that they were well stored. From thence  
 they came and sat down before *Bulloigne*,  
 and though the Plague broke into the  
*French* Camp, yet the Siege was not rais-  
 ed: The King left the Army under the  
 Command of *Coligny*, the famous Admiral  
 of *France*. He found the sure way to take  
 it, was to cut it off from Sea, and so to  
 keep out all Supplies: But the several at-  
 tempts he made to do that proved unsuccess-  
 ful. The Winter that came on, forced him  
 to raise the Siege; but he lodged a great part  
 of his Army in the Forts about, so that  
 it was in danger of being lost next year. In  
*Scotland* there was also a great turn; the  
 Castle of *Broughry* was taken by the *Scots*,  
 and the Garrison almost wholly cut off.  
 The *English* took care to provide *Hading-*  
*ton* well, expecting a Siege; but upon that  
 the *Scots* let it alone; yet the charge of  
 keeping it was so great, and the Countrey  
 about it was so wasted, that all their pro-  
 visions were to be sent from *Berwick*, so that  
 the Protector thought it more advisable  
 to abandon it; and upon that, sent orders  
 to the Garrison to slight the works, and  
 come back to *England*. So that now the  
*English* had no place beyond the Borders,  
 except *Lander*: and *Thermies* the *French*  
 Gene-



General at down before it, and if a Peace had not come, it had fallen into his hands. The Protector had now no Foreign Ally to depend on but the Emperour; and little was to be expected from him, for he was so dissatisfied with the changes that had been made in the matters of Religion, that they found his assistance was not to be trusted to. At this time the Emperour brought his Son to the *Netherlands*, that he might put him in possession of those Provinces; though the secret considerations that made him do it so early, in those places where the Prince was not Elective, is not visible. It was thought they enclined to shake off his yoke, and that if the Emperour should have then died, they would have put themselves under *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand's* Son, afterwards Emperour. It was some such apprehension that moved *Charles* to make them swear obedience so early to his Son; and settle not only many limitations on him in the matter of imposing Taxes, and of not putting strangers in places of trust, nor governing them by a Military power, but make a special provision, that in case his Son should break those rules, the Provinces should not be bound to obey him any longer. Which was the chief ground both in Law and Conscience, upon which they afterwards justified their shaking off his yoke. *Charles*, that was born in those parts, had a peculiar tenderness for them, and did perhaps fear that the rigid Councils of the Span-

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ards might prevail too much on his Son, which made him so careful to secure their liberties; a rare instance of a Princes love for his people, by which he took such care of their rights, as to make their tye of obedience to his Son, to depend on his maintaining them inviolably. The Princes of *Germany* were now at the Emperours mercy, and saw no way to recover their liberty but by the help of the *French* King: So there were applications made to him, which he cheerfully entertained, only he was resolved first to make himself master of *Bulloigne*, and then to turn his whole force towards *Germany*. Advertisements were given of this to the Protector, upon which he entred into a deep consultation with his Friends what was fit to be done in so critical a conjuncture; whether it was better to deliver up *Bulloigne* to the *French* by a Treaty, or to engage in a War to preserve it; which being on the *French* side, would prove a much more chargeable War to the *English* than to the *French*; and this was of very dangerous consequence when affairs were in so unsettled a condition at home; ill success, which was like to be the event of such a War, would turn on him that had the chief administration of affairs: so both regard to the publick, and to the establishing his private fortune, which could not be done in time of War, without drawing much envy on him, inclined him to deliver up *Bulloigne*. But his Enemies saw that the

continuance of the War was like to ruine him, whereas a General Peace would put the Nation wholly in his hands, and therefore they who were the majority in the Council, set themselves against all motions for a Treaty; and said it would be a lasting reproach on the Government if such a place as *Bulloigne* were sold.

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*Raget* gave his opinion in Writing, in which, after he had with great Judgement ballanced the affairs of *Europe*, he concluded that the restoring the liberty of *Germany*, and the bearing down the Emperours greatness, was at present to be preferred to all other things, and that could not be done without a conjunction with *France*; and that was to be pursued by the mediation of the *Venetians*. *Thomas*, a Clerk of the Council, and much employed in foreign affairs, was of another mind: He thought it was very dishonourable to deliver up the late Conquests in *France*, therefore he proposed their casting themselves on the Emperour, that so some time might be gained: They knew the Emperour would not be hearty, unless they would promise to return to the *Roman* Religion; but he thought that was to be done in such an extremity of affairs; and when the present difficulty was over, they might turn to other Councils. There was great danger in this, it would very much dishearten the few Towns that refused to bear the Emperours yoke in *Germany*, and it would provoke the Emperour more against them.

Several expedients proposed.

after.

afterwards, if he should find that he had  
 Book II. been deceived by them: he also proposed  
 that in order to the imbroiling of *Scotland*,  
 2549. some should be imployed to perswade the  
 Governour to aspire to the Crown, and  
 that he should be assured of the assistance  
 of *England*; for this would separate that  
 Nation from the Interests of *France*.

The Em-  
 peror re-  
 fuses his  
 assistance.

The issue of these Consultations, was,  
 first, the sending over *Paget* to the Emperor,  
 to try what might be expected from him:  
 His publick Instructions were to obtain an  
 explanation of some ambiguous words in  
 the former Treaty, and a ratification of  
 it by Prince *Philip*, and to adjust some dif-  
 ferences in the matter of Trade: but his  
 secret Instructions were to see, if the Em-  
 peror would include *Bulloign* in the League  
 defensive, and so protect it: or, if that  
 could not be obtained, he was ordered to  
 try, whether the Emperour would take  
*Bulloign* into his hands, and what recom-  
 pence he would give for it; but this he  
 was ordered to propose as a motion of  
 his own. The Emperour shifted him off  
 for some time by delays, and pretended  
 that the carrying his Son about from  
 Town to Town, making them swear o-  
 bedience, took him up so, that till that  
 was over, he could not receive his Pro-  
 positions. But the Progress of the *French*  
 about *Bulloign*, made *Paget* impatient; so  
 the Bishop of *Arras*, and the Emperour's  
 other Ministers were appointed to treat  
 with him. They at first treated of some  
 diffe-



differences between the Courts of Admiralty of both sides, and proposed some Expedients for adjusting them: for the Confirmation of the Treaty, it was offered, that the Prince should do it, but *Paget* moved likewise, that it might be confirmed by the States. It was answered, that the Emperor would never sue to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties: he had fifteen or sixteen Parliaments, and would be in a very uneasy condition, if all these must know the secrets of his Negotiations: But since the King of *England* was under Age, it was more reasonable for them to demand a ratification from his Parliament. *Paget* answered, the King's power was the same at all Ages, and a ratification under the Great Seal did oblige him, as much, as if he had made the Treaty himself: and objected, that their last Treaty with *France*, was ratified by the Assembly of the States. To this they answered, that the Prerogative of the Kings of *France* was so limited, that they could not alienate any thing, which belonged to the Crown, without consent of the Parliament of *Paris*, and of the States; but the Emperor had a more unlimited power in making Treaties. As for the business of *Bulloign*, the Bishop of *Arras* said, it was taken after the Emperor's Treaty with *England*, and so was not included in it, nor could the Emperor comprehend it within it, without breach of his Faith and Treaties with *France*, which

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which was so contrary to the Emperor's honour, that it could not be done. For the honour of a Prince is a good excuse, when he has no mind to engage in a deceitful or unjust War, but it is often forgotten, when the Circumstances are more favourable. *Pager*, after several other Conferences, found there was nothing more to be expected of the Emperor: so he returned back to *England*. It was upon that proposed in Council, whether since by the Treaty with *France*, *Bulloign* was to be delivered up within a few Years, it were not better to prevent a new War and a Siege, the issue of which was like to prove very dangerous, and to enter into a Treaty for doing it presently; and if at the same time it were not more advisable to make an end of the War in *Scotland*, since there was no possibility of compassing the Marriage, for which it was first begun.

A Faction  
against the  
Protector.

Upon this, all the Protector's Enemies took off the Mask, and declared themselves against it. The Earl of *Southampton*, and the Earl of *Warwick* were the chief sticklers: the one hated him for turning him out of his Office, and the other hoped to be the chief Man in business, if he should fall. Many things concurred to raise the Protector many Enemies, his partiality to the Commons provoked the Gentry, his cutting off his Brothers head, and building a Magnificent Palace in the *Strand*, upon the ruines of some Bishops Houses

Houses and Churches, and that in a time both of War and Plague, disgusted the People. The Clergy hated him, not only for his promoting the changes made in Religion, but for his possessing himself of so many of the Bishops best Mannors: his entertaining foreign Troops, both *German*s and *Italian*s, though done by the consent of Council, yet gave a general distast: and that great advancement he was raised to, wrought much, both on himself and others; for it raised his pride, as much as it provoked the envy of others: The Privy Counsellors complained, that he was become so Arbitrary in his proceedings, that he little regarded the opposition that was made by the Majority of the Council, to any of his designs. All these things concurred, to beget him many Enemies: and except *Crammer*, who never forsook his friend, and *Paget* and *Smith*, all turned against him: so they violently opposed the proposition, for a Treaty with *France*: they also complained, that the Places about *Bulloign* were lost by his carelessness, and by his not providing them well, and that he had recalled the Garrison out of *Hadington*; and they put him in mind of the conditions, upon which he was first made Protector, by which he was limited to do nothing, but by their advice; though he had since that, taken out a Patent, which clothed him with a far greater power. Upon *Pagets* return, when it

was

# Assignment of the History

was visible, that nothing could be expected from the Emperor, he prest them much to consent to a Treaty with France, but it was said, that he had secretly directed Page to procure no better answer, that so he might be furnished with an excuse, for so dishonourable an Action, therefore they would not give way to it.

Which  
turns to  
publick  
breach.  
October.

The Protector carried the King to Hampton Court, and put many of his own Creatures about him, which increased the Jealousies, so Nine of the Privy Council met at Ely House, and assumed to themselves the Authority of the Council; and Secretary Petre being sent by the King, to ask an account of their meeting, instead of returning, joyned himself to them. They made a large Declaration of the Protector's ill government and bad designs, and of his engaging the King to set his hand to Letters, for raising Men, and for dispersing Seditious Papers; therefore they resolved to see to the safety of the King and Kingdom. Both the City of London, and the Lieutenant of the Tower declared for them: They also sent Letters all over England, desiring the assistance of the Nobility and Gentry. Seven more Privy Counsellors came and joyned with them. They wrote to the King, complaining of the Protector's obstinacy, and his refusing to hearken to their Counsels, though the late King had left the Government of his Person and Kingdom to them

in



in common, and the Protector was advanced to that dignity by them, upon conditions which he had little regarded; therefore they desired the King would construct well of their Intentions and proceedings. The Protector had removed the King from *Hampton-Court*, as being an open place, to *Windsor*, which had some more defence about it; and had armed some of his own Servants, and set them about the King's Person, which heightened the Jealousies of him; yet seeing himself abandoned by all friends, except a few, and finding the Party against him, was formed to such a strength, that it would be in vain to struggle any longer, he offered to submit himself to the Council: So a Proposition of a Treaty was set on foot; and the Lords at *London* were desired to send two of their number with their Propositions, and a *Passport* was sent them for their safety. *Crammer*, and the other two, writ to the Council, to dispose them to an agreement, and not to follow *Cromwell's* Counsels. Many false reports, as is usual on such occasions, were carried of the Protector, as if he had threatened, that if they intended to put him to death, the King should dye first, which served to increase the prejudices against him. The Council writ to *Crammer*, and *Paget* charging them to look well to the Kings Person, that he should not be removed from *Windsor*, and that the Duke of *Somerset's* Servants might be put from him, and

## Abridgment of the History

and his own sworn Servants admitted to wait: they also protested that they would proceed with all the moderation and favour towards the Duke of *Somerset*, that was possible. The Council understanding that all things were prepared, as they had desired, sent first three of their number, to see that the Duke of *Somerset*, and some of his Creatures, *Smith, Stanhop, Thynne, Wolf* and *Cecil* should be confined to their Lodgings; and on the 12th. of *October*, the whole Council went to *Windsor*, and made great protestations of their duty to the King, which he received favourably, and assured them he took all that they had done in good part.

The Protector's fall.

The Duke of *Somerset*, with the rest of his friends, except *Cecil*, who was presently enlarged, were sent to the *Tower*, and many Articles were objected to him, That he being made Protector, with this condition, that he should do nothing, but by the consent of the other Executors, had treated with Ambassadors apart, had made Bishops and Lord-Lieutenants without their knowledge, had held a Court of Requests in his House, had embased the Coin, had neglected the Places the King had in *France*, had encouraged the Commons in their late Insurrections, and had given out Commissions, and proclaimed a Pardon, without their consent: that he had animated the King against the rest of the Council, and had proclaimed them Traitors, & had put his own Servants armed about

about the King's Person. By these, it appears, the Crimes against him were the effects of his sudden exaltation, that had made him too much forget that he was a subject, but that he had carried his greatness with much Innocence, since no acts of Cruelty, Rapine, or Bribery, were objected to him: for they were rather errors and weaknesses than Crimes. His embasing the Coin was done upon a common mistake of weak Governments, who fly to that as their last refuge, in the necessity of their affairs. In his Imprisonment, he set himself to the study of Moral Philosophy and Divinity, and writ a Preface to a Book of Patience, which had made great Impressions on him. His fall was a great affliction to all that loved the Reformation, and that was increased, because they had no reason to trust much to the two chief Men of the party against him, *Southampton* and *Warwick*: the one was a known Papist, and the other was lookt on as a Man of no Religion: and both at the Emperor's Court, and in *France*, it was expected, that upon this revolution, matters of Religion would be again set back, into the posture, in which King *Henry* had left them. The Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* hoped to be discharged, and *Bonner* lookt to be re-established in his Bishoprick again, and all People began to fall off much from the new service: but the Earl of *Warwick* finding the King was zealously addicted to the

Reformation, quickly forsook the Popish party, and seemed to be a mighty promoter of that work. A Court of Civilians was appointed to examine *Bonner's* Appeal, and upon their report the Council rejected it, and confirmed the Sentence that was past upon him.

The Emperor will not assist them.

But next, foreign affairs come under their care. They suspected that *Paget* had not dealt effectually with the Emperour, to assist them in the preservation of *Bulloign*; so they sent over Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, to try what might be expected from him: they took also care of the Garrison, and both encreased it, and supplied it well. *Cheyney* found the same reception with the Emperour, and had the same answer that *Paget* got. The Emperor prest him much, that matters of Religion might be again considered, and confest, that till that were done, he could not assist them so effectually, as otherwise he would do: so now the Council found it necessary to apply to the Court of *France* for a Peace. The Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great discontent, he was neither restored to his Office of Chancellour, nor was he made one of the six Lords, that were appointed to have the charge of the King's Person; this touched him so much, that he died not long after of grief, as was believed.

A Session of Parliament.

In *November*, a Session of Parliament met: in which an Act was past, declaring it Treason to call any to the number of Twelve



Twelve together, about any matter of State, if being required, they did not dis-  
 perse themselves : other Riotous Assemblies were also declared felonious, the giving out of Prophecies concerning the King, or Council, was also made Penal. Another Law was made against Vagabonds, the former Statute was repealed, as too severe, and Provisions were made for the relief of the Sick and Impotent, and Employing such as could work. The Bishops made a heavy complaint of the growth of Vice and Impiety, and that their power was so much abridged, that they could not repress it : so a Bill was read, enlarging their Authority, but it was thought, that it gave them too much power ; yet it was so moderated, that the Lords past it. But the Commons rejected it : and instead of it, sent up a Bill, that impowered XXXII. who were to be named by the King, the one half of the Temporalty, and the other of Spirituality, to compile a body of Ecclesiastical Laws within three years, and that these, not being contrary to the Common or Statute Law, and approved of by the King, should have the force of Ecclesiastical Laws: of the 32. Four were to be Bishops, and as many to be Common Lawyers.

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Six Bishops and six Divines were impowered to prepare a new form of Ordination, which being confirmed under the Great Seal, should take place after April

1550.

Book II

1550.  
The Duke  
of Somers-  
et fined,  
but resto-  
red to fa-  
vour.

next, Articles were also put in against the Duke of *Somerset*, with a Confession signed by him. But some objected, that they ought not to proceed, till they knew whether he had signed it voluntarily, or not; and some were sent to examine him, he acknowledged he had done it freely, but protested that his errors had flowed rather from Indiscretion than Malice, and denied all treasonable designs against the King, or the Realm: he was fined in 2000 *l.* a year in Land, and in the loss of all his Goods and Offices. He complained of the heaviness of this Censure, and desired earnestly to be restored to the Kings favour, and promised to carry himself to humbly and obediently, that he should make amends for his past follies, which was thought a sign of too abject a mind; others excused it, since the power and malice of his Enemies was such, that he was not safe as long as he continued in Prison: he was discharged in the beginning of *February*: soon after he had his pardon, and did so manage his interest in the King, that he was again brought both to the Court and Council in *April*. But if these submissions gained him some favour at Court, they sunk him as much in the esteem of the World.

A Progress  
in the Re-  
formation.

The Reformation was now, after this confusion was over, carried on again with vigour. The Council sent Orders over *England*, to require all to conform themselves to the new service, and to call in all

all the Books of the old Offices. An Act  
past in Parliament to the same effect;  
one Earl, six Bishops, and four Lords  
only dissenting: all the old Books and  
Images were appointed to be defaced,  
and all prayers to Saints were to be struck  
out of the Primers published by the late  
King. A Subsidy was granted, and the  
King gave a General Pardon, out of which  
all Prisoners on the account of the State,  
and Anabaptists were excepted. In this  
Session the Eldest Sons of Peers were first  
allowed to sit in the House of Com-  
mons.

Book II.

1550.

The Committee appointed to prepare  
the Book of Ordination, finished their  
work with common consent, only *Heath*  
Bishop of *Worcester* refused to sign it, for  
which he was called before the Council,  
and required to do it, but he still refusing,  
was sent to Prison. This was thought  
hard measure, to punish one for not con-  
curring in a thing not yet settled by Law.  
*Heath* was a Compplier, who went along  
with the changes that were made, but  
was ready upon the first favourable con-  
juncture, to return back to the old super-  
stition. It was found, that in the Anci-  
ent Church, there was nothing used in  
Ordinations, but Prayer and Imposition of  
hands: the Additions of Anointing and  
giving consecrated Vestments were after-  
wards brought in. And in the Council  
of *Florence*, it was declared that the Rite  
of Ordaining a Priest, was the delivering

The Book  
of Ordina-  
tions put  
out.

Book II.

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the Vessels for the Eucharist, with a power to offer Sacrifices to God for the Dead and Living, which was a Novelty invented to support the belief of Transubstantiation. So all these additions were cut off, and Ordination was restored to a greater simplicity, and the form was made almost the same that we still use, only then in ordaining a Priest, the Bishop was to lay one hand on his Head, and with the other to give him a Bible, and a Chalice, and Bread in it. In the Consecration of a Bishop, the form was the same, that we still retain, only then they kept up the custom of giving the Bishop a staff, saying these words, *Be to the Flock of Christ a Shepherd.* In the middle of the sixth Century, the Anointing the Priests hands was begun in *France*, but was not used in the *Roman* Church, for two Ages after that. In the eighth Century, the Vestments were given with a special blessing, empowering Priests to offer Expiatory Sacrifices; then their Heads were Anointed: and in the tenth Century, the belief of Transubstantiation being received, the Vessels for the Sacrament were delivered. It is evident from the several forms of Ordination, that the Church did not believe it self tied to one manner, and that the Prayer, which in some Ages was the Prayer of Consecration, was in other Ages esteemed only a Prayer preparatory to it. There were some sponsions promised, as a Covenant, to which the Ordination



dination was a Seal: The first of these was, that the Persons that came to receive Orders, professed that they believed they were inwardly moved to it by the Holy Ghost. If this were well considered, it would no doubt put many that thirst after Sacred Offices to a stand, who, if they examine themselves well, dare not pretend to that, concerning which, perhaps they know nothing, but that they have it not: and if they make the answer prescribed in the Book, without feeling any such motion in their heart, they do publickly lye to God, and against the Holy Ghost, and have no reason to expect a blessing on Orders so obtained. But too many consider that only as a Ceremony in Law, necessary to make them capable of some Place of Profit, and not as the Dedication of their Lives and labours to God, and to the gaining of Souls. It were happy for the Church, if Bishops would not think it enough barely to put these questions, but would use great strictness in examining before hand the motives that set on those, who come to be Ordained. Another sponson is, that the Priests shall teach the People, committed to their charge, and exhort them both in private and publick, and visit the sick. By this they plight their faith to God, for the care of Souls, to be managed by them in person, and upon that they must find the Pastoral care to be a load indeed: and so will neither desert their Flocks, nor hire them out to

weak, and perhaps scandalous Mercenaries. In which the faultiness of some have brought a blemish on this Church, and given scandal to many, who could not have been so easily perswaded to divide from it, if it had not been, that they were prejudiced by such gross and publick abuses.

The Council was now much perplexed with the business of *Bulloign*, and though they had opposed the delivering it up by the Protector, yet that end being served in pulling him down, they were convinced of the necessity of doing it, and so were induced to listen to the proposition that one *Guidotti* made for a Treaty. He was employed by the Constable *Mormorancy*, and gave them assurances that as soon as that was ended, the *French King* would engage on the behalf of the oppressed Princes of the Empire.

*Pool* chosen Pope, but lost it.

At this time Pope *Paul* the Third died. In the Conclave that followed, Cardinal *Farnese* set up Cardinal *Pool*, whose wise behaviour at *Trent* had raised his esteem much; it also appeared that though he was of the Emperours faction, yet he did not serve him blindly. Some loaded him both with the imputations of *Lutheranism*, and of Incontinence: The last would not have hindered his advancement much, though true, yet he fully cleared himself of it: But the former lay heavier, for in his retirement at *Viterbo*, where he was Legate, he had given himself much to the study of Controversies; and *Tranellius*, *Flaminio*, and

and others suspected of *Lutheranism*, had lived in his house; and in the Council of *Trent* he seemed favourable to some of their opinions; but the great sufferings both of himself and Family in *England*, seemed to set him above all suspicions. When the party for him, had almost gained a sufficient number of Suffrages, he seemed little concerned at it, and did rather decline, than aspire to that dignity: And expressed a pitch of Philosophy on this occasion, that was more suitable to Ancient than Modern patterns. When a full number had agreed, and came to adore him, according to the ordinary Ceremony, he received it with his usual coldness; and that being done in the night, he said, *God loved light*, and therefore advised them to delay it till day came. The *Italians*, among whom Ambition passes for the Character of a great mind, looked on this as an unsufferable piece of dulness; so the Cardinals shrunk from him before day, and chose *de Monte* Pope, who reigned by the name of *Julius* the Third. His first promotion was very extraordinary, for he gave his own Hat to a Servant that kept his Monkey; and being askt the reason of it, he said, He saw as much in his Servant to recommend him to be a Cardinal, as the Conclave saw in him to induce them to chuse him Pope. But others imputed this to an unnatural affection for him.

Book II.

1550.

A Treaty  
with  
France.

Embassadours were sent over to *France*, the Lord *Russel*, *Paget* made also a Lord, and some others, to settle the Treaty of Peace: They were ordered in the first place to ask the delivery of the *Scottish* Queen, and payment of the perpetual Pension; but the *French* would not treat about these, their Master intended to marry the *Scottish* Queen to the Dauphin, and would not be tributary to another Prince, or pay a perpetual Pension, but they offered a sum of money for *Bulloign*; things stuck a little at the razing the Fortifications in *Aldernay* and *Sark*, two small Islands in the Channel which the *French* desired, and at the delivering up of *Roxburgh* and *Aymouth* to the *Scots*, then in the hands of the *English*. The Council ordered their Commissioners to insist on these things, and to offer to break up their Conference rather than yield to them; but if that had no effect on the *French*, then they were to let them go. In Conclusion, the *English* after a Protestation, by which they reserved to the King all the rights that he had at the beginning of the War, agreed to deliver up *Bulloign*, and all the places about it, and all the Ordnance in it, except what the *English* had cast, for which the *French* were to pay them four hundred thousand Crowns: All the places which the *English* had in *Scotland* were to be delivered up, and the Forts razed; and six Hostages were to be given on both sides for the performance, who were the Sons of the



the men of the greatest quality. So was the Peace fully concluded, and the Articles were duly performed on both hands: Book II.

The Council approved of the proceedings of their Plenipotentiaries, only the Earl of *Warwick*, who had declared himself much against the delivery of *Bulloign*, pretended sickness, and was absent. 1550.

At this time the Earl of *Warwick* ordered a review to be made of all accounts, and brought in much money, by the Fines of those who were accused for Malversation: The Earl of *Arundel* was fined in 12000 *l.* Sir *James Thynne* in 6000 *l.* and many others of the *Protectors* creatures in 3000 *l.*

In *February*, *Ridley* was made Bishop of *London* and *Westminster*, 1000 *l.* a year of the Rents of the See were assigned him, with licence to hold two Prebends. *Reps*, Bishop of *Norwich* resigned, upon which *Therleby*, Bishop of *Westminster*, was removed to *Norwich*; and it was intended to re-unite *London* and *Westminster*, but though they still remained different Sees, yet they were now put under one mans care. His Patent was not during pleasure, but during life. It does not appear that there was any design in this Reign to put down Cathedrals; for though *Westminster*, *Gloucester*, and *Durham* were suppressed, the two former being united, one to *London*, and another to *Worcester*; and the latter being to be divided in two, yet in none

Book II.

1550.

Gardiners  
Process.

none of these were the Dean and Chapter Lands fallen on.

*Gardiner* continued still in prison: During the *Protectors* Ministry some Privy Counsellors dealt with him, to sue to him for mercy, and to declare whether he approved the new Service or not: But he said he had done no fault, and so would not ask Pardon; nor would he declare his opinion while he continued a Prisoner, lest his Enemies might say he did it only to be set at liberty. Upon the *Protectors* fall, he expected he should have been discharged of his Imprisonment, and thought it so near, that he made a farewell Feast to the Officers in the *Tower*. Some Privy Counsellours were sent to him with Articles, acknowledging former offences, approving the Book of Common Prayer, and asserting the Kings Power when he was under age, and his authority to reform abuses in the Church, and that the six Articles were justly abrogated. He signed the Paper, only he wrote on the Margin, that he could not confess former offences, for he was not convinced of any fault he had done. Upon this, it was believed that he was to be quickly let out; but another Message was sent him, that he must confess that he had been justly punished: This he plainly refused to do, and said he would never defame himself. *Ridley* was sent to him with a new Paper, in which the confession of his faults was more

more softly worded; the rest related to the Popes power, the suppressing the Abbies and Chantries, Pilgrimages, Masses, Images, the Adoration of the Sacrament, Communion in both kinds, the abolishing the old Books of Service, and setting up the new; with the Book of Ordinations, and the lawfulness of a married Clergy: But he said he would sign no more Articles while he continued in Prison; and desired that he might be either tried, or set at liberty; for he asked not Mercy, but Justice. And being called before the Council, and required to sign those Articles, he gave them the same answer: He said some of these points were already settled by Law, others were not so; and in these he was at liberty to do as he pleased. Upon this, his Bishoprick was sequestred, and he was required to conform himself within three months, under pain of deprivation, and the freedom of the Tower was denied him. All this was much censured, as contrary to Law, and the liberties of *English* men, and it was said that it favoured more of a Court of Inquisition, than of a legal way of proceeding. The Canon Law was not yet rectified, so the King being in the Popes room, this way, *ex Officio* was excused, as grounded upon the forms of the Spiritual Courts.

There was a discourse on foot, of a Marriage between the King, and a Daughter of *France*, which grieved the Reformers, who rather wisht him to marry *Maximilians*

Book II

1550.  
Latimer  
preaches  
at Court.

*ximilians* Daughter, who was believed to favour the Reformation, and was esteemed one of the best men of the age. Old *Latimer* preached at Court, and warned the King of the ill effects of bad Marriages, which were made up only as bargains, without affection between the parties; and that they occasioned so much Whoring, and so many Divorces: He also complained of the luxury and vanity of the Age, and of many called *Gospellers*, who were concerned for nothing but Abbey and Chantry Lands; he also prest the setting up a Primitive Discipline in the Church. He preached this as his last Sermon, and so used great freedome: He complained that the Kings debts were not paid, and yet his Officers grew vastly rich: He prayed the King not to seek his pleasures too much, and charged all about him to be faithful to him.

*Hooper*  
made Bi-  
shop of  
*Gloucester*,  
has scrup-  
les con-  
cerning  
the Vest-  
ments.

The See of *Gloucester* fell vacant, and *Hooper* was named to it; upon which the heats concerning things indifferent, that have since that time so fatally rent the Church, had their first rise. He had some scruples about the Episcopal Vestments, and thought that all those Garments, having been Consecrated with much superstition, were to be reckoned among the Elements condemned by *S. Paul*: But *Ridley* justified the use of them, and said the Elements condemned by *S. Paul* were only the *Jewish* Ceremonies; which, though the Apostles condemned, when they were im-



imposed as necessary, for that imported, that the *Mosaical* Law was not yet abrogated, and that the *Messiah* was not come; Yet they themselves used them at other times, to gain upon the *Jews* by that Compliance. And if Apostles did such things to gain them, Subjects ought much more to obey the Laws in matters indifferent: And Superstitious Consecrations was as good an Argument for throwing down all the Churches, as for laying aside those Habits. *Cranmer* desired *Bucer's* opinion concerning the lawfulness of those Habits, and the obligation lying on Subjects to obey the Laws about them. His opinion was, that every creature of God was good, and that no former abuse could make a thing indifferent in its self, become unlawful: He thought ancient customes ought not to be lightly changed, and that there might be a good use made of those Garments; that they might well express the purity and candour that became all who ministred in Holy things, and that it was a sin to disobey the Laws in such matters. Yet since those Garments had been abused to Superstition, and were like to become a subject of Contention, he wished they might be taken away by Law; and that Ecclesiastical Discipline, and a more compleat Reformation might be set up, and that a stop might be put to the robbing of Churches; otherwise, they might see in the present State of *Germany*, a dreadful prospect of that which *England* ought

Book II.  
1550.

ought to look for. He also writ to the same effect to *Hooper*, and wished that all good men would unite against the greater Corruptions, and then lesser abuses would easily be redressed. *Peter Martyr* did also deliver his opinion to the same purpose, and was much troubled at *Hooper's* stiffness, and at such contests among the professors of true Religion. *Hooper* was suspended from Preaching; but the Earl of *Warwick* writ to *Crammer* to dispense with him in that matter: He answered, That while the Law continued in force, he could not do it without incurring a *Præmunire*. Upon that, the King writ to him, allowing him to do it, and dispensing with the Law: Yet this matter was not settled till a year after. *John à Lasco*, with some Germans of the *Helvetian* Confession, came this year into *England*, being driven out of *Germany* by the Persecution there: They were erected by Letters Patents into a Corporation, and *à Lasco* was their Superintendent; he being a stranger, meddled too much in *English* affairs, and wrote both against the Habits, and against kneeling in the Sacrament. *Polydore Virgil* was this year suffered to go out of *England*, and still to hold the preferments he had in it. *Pomet* was made Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Caverdale* Co-adjutor to *Veysey* in *Exeter*.

A review  
of the  
Common-  
Prayer-  
Book.

There was now a design set on foot, for a review of the Common-Prayer-Book: In order to which *Bucer's* opinion was asked. He approved the main parts of the former

former Book, he wished there might be not only a denunciation against scandalous persons that came to the Sacrament, but a discipline to exclude them: That the Habits might be laid aside, that no part of the Communion Office might be used, except when there was a Sacrament; that Communions might be more frequent, that the Prayers might be said in a plain voice, that the Sacrament might be put in the peoples hands, and that there might be no Prayers for the Dead, which had not been used in *Justin Martyr's* time: He advised a change of some phrases in the Office of the Communion, that favoured Transubstantiation too much, and that Baptism might be only in Churches: He thought the hallowing the Water, the Chrisme, and the White garment, were too scenical; nor did he approve of adjuring the Devil, nor of the Godfathers answering in the Childs name: He thought Confirmation should be delayed till the person was of Age, and came sincerely to renew the Baptismal Covenant. He advised Catechizing every Holy-day, both of Children and the Adult, he disliked private Marriages, Extreame Unction, and offering Chrisomes at the Churching of Women: And thought there ought to be greater strictness used in the examining of those who came to receive Orders.

At the same time he understood that the King expected a New-years gift from him, of a Book written particularly for his

K

own

Book II.

1550.  
Bucer of-  
fers some  
advices to  
the King.

own use : So he made a Book for him, concerning the Kingdom of Christ : He prest much the setting up a strict discipline, the Sanctification of the Lords day, the appointing many days of Fasting, and that Pluralities and Non-residence might be effectually condemned, that Children might be Catechized, that the Reverence due to Churches might be preserved, that the Pastoral function might be restored to what it ought to be, that Bishops might throw off Secular affairs, and take care of their Diocesses, and govern them by the advice of their Presbyters; that there might be Rural Bishops over twenty or thirty Parishes, and that Provincial Councils might meet twice a year, that Church-lands should be restored, and that a fourth part should be assigned to the poor; that Marriage, without consent of Parents, should be annulled; that a second Marriage might be declared lawful, after a Divorce, for Adultery, and some other Reasons; that care should be taken of the education of youth, and for repressing luxury; that the Law might be reformed, that no Office might be sold, but given to the most deserving; that none should be put in Prison upon slight offences, and that the severity of some Laws, as that which made Theft capital, might be mitigated.

The Kings  
great un-  
derstand-  
ing.

The young King was much pleased with these advices; and upon that, began himself to form a Scheme for amending many things



things that were amiss in the Government, which he writ with his own hand, and in a stile and manner that had much of a Child in it, though the thoughts were manly: It appears by it, that he intended to set up a Church discipline, and settle a method for breeding of youth; but the discourse is not finished. He also writ a Journal of every thing that past at home, and of the news that came from beyond Sea. It has clear marks of his own Composing, as well as it is written with his own hand. He wrote another discourse in *French*, being a Collection of all the places of Scripture against Idolatry, with a Preface before it, dedicated to the Protector.

At this time *Ridley* made his first Visitation of his Diocess; the Articles upon which he proceeded, were chiefly relating to the Service and Ceremonies that were abolished, whether any continued to use them or not, and whether there were any Anabaptists, or others, that used private Conventicles. He also carried some Injunctions with him, against some remainders of the former superstition, and for exhorting the people to give Alms, and to come oft to the Sacrament, and that Altars might be removed, and Tables put in their room, in the most convenient place of the Chancel. In the Ancient Church their Tables were of Wood: But the Sacrament being called a Sacrifice, as Prayers, Alms, and all Holy Oblations were,

Altars put down.

Book II.

1550.

they came to be called *Altars*. This gave the rise to the Opinion of Expiatory Sacrifice in the Mass, and therefore it was thought fit to take away both the name and form of Altars. *Ridley* only advised the Curates to do this, but upon some contests arising concerning it, the Council interposed, and required it to be done; and sent with their Order, a Paper of Reasons justifying it: Shewing that a Table was more proper than an Altar; especially, since the opinion of an Expiatory Sacrifice was supported by it. Sermons began to be preached in some Churches on working-days, this occasioned great running about, and idleness; and raised emulation among the Clergy: upon which the Council ordered them all to be put down. Since that time there has been great contention concerning these; they were factiously kept up by some, and too violently suppressed by others: But now that matter is quieted, and they are in many places still continued, to the great edification of the people. The Government was now free of all disturbance: the Coyn was reformed, and Trade was encouraged. The faction in the Court seemed also to be extinguished, by a Marriage between the Earl of *Warwick's* Son, and the *Duke of Somerset's* Daughter. The *Duke of Lunenburgh* made a Proposition of Marriage with *Lady Mary*, but the Treaty with the Infant of *Portugal* did still depend, so it was not entertained.

Affairs of  
Scotland.

In *Scotland*, the Governor, now made Duke  
of

of *Chastelherault* in *France*, was wholly led by his base Brothers Counsels, who, though he was Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, yet gave himself up, without any disguise, to his pleasures, and kept another mans Wife avowedly; by such means were the people more easily disposed to hearken to the new Teachers, and prepared for the changes that followed. The Queen Mother went to *France*, on design to procure the Government of *Scotland* to be put in her hands.

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1550.

A Diet was called in *Germany*; the Town of *Magdeburg* was proscribed: But they published a *Manifesto*, expressing their readiness to obey the Emperour according to Law; and that they only stood to the defence of their liberties, without doing acts of Hostility to others. It was now visible that the design of the late War was to extinguish the Protestant Religion, and to set up Tyranny. It was better to obey God than Man: And they were resolved to put all to hazard, rather than give up their Religion. Tumults were raised in *Strasburg* and other Towns, when the Mass was again set up; and all *Germany* was disposed to a Revolt, only they wanted a Head. Severe Edicts were also set out in *Flanders*; but the execution of them was stopt, at the intercession of the *English* in *Antwerp*, who were resolved otherwise to remove the Trade to another place. The Emperour prest the Diet to submit to the Council, when it should be

And Germany.

Book II.

1550.

brought back to *Trent*: But *Maurice* of *Saxe*, to whom all the Protestants joyned, refused to do it, unless all their former decrees should be reviewed, and their Divines heard, and admitted to Vote; and that the Pope would dispense with the Oath which the Bishops swore to him: Yet he so far insinuated himself into the Emperours confidence, that he was made General of the Empire, for the reduction of *Magdeburg*, and resolved to manage that matter, so as to draw great advantages from it. The Emperour reckoned that he might well trust him as long as he had *John* Duke of *Saxe*, in his hands: But he had provoked him too much in the matter of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, his Father-in-Law, to repose such consequence in him; so that this proved a fatal error to him, by which he lost the power he had then in *Germany*, and *Maurice* proved too hard for him in dissimulation, in which he was so great a Master.

1551.  
The Popish  
Clergy  
comply  
generally.

The Popish Clergy did now generally comply to every Change that was made. *Oglethorp* afterwards Bishop of *Carlisle*, being informed against, as favouring the old Superstition, did under his hand declare, that he thought the Order of Religion then settled, was nearer the use of the Primitive Church, than that which was formerly received; and that he condemned Transubstantiation, as a late Invention, and approved the Communion in both kinds, and the Peoples receiving always with



with the Priest. *Smith*, who had written against the Marriage of the Clergy, and was upon some complaints put in Prison, being discharged by *Crammer's* Intercession, writ a submission to him, acknowledging the mistakes he had committed in his Book, and the Arch-bishops gentleness towards him: and wished he might perish, if he did not write sincerely, and called God a witness against his Soul, if he lied. *Day*, Bishop of *Chichester* did also preach a Sermon at Court against Transubstantiation. The Principle, by which most of that Party governed themselves, was this, they thought they ought to oppose all the changes, before they were established by Law; yet that being done, that they might afterwards comply with them. *Crammer* was a moderate and prudent Man, and willing to accept of any thing they offered, reckoning that whether they acted sincerely, or not, yet their compliance would be a means to quiet the Nation; he was also of so compassionate a nature, that he would never drive things to extremities, against Men that were grown old in their errors, and could not be easily weaned from them: only *Gardiner* and *Bonner* were such deceitful and cruel Men, that he thought it might be more excusable to make stretches, for ridding the Church of them.

*Martin Bucer* dyed in the beginning of this Year, of the Stone, and griping of the Guts. He had great apprehensions of

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1551.

a fatal revolution in *England*; by reason of the ill lives of the People, occasioned chiefly by the want of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the neglect of the Pastoral charge. Orders were sent from the Court, to *Cambridge*, to bury him with all the Publick honour to his Memory, that could be devised. Speeches and Sermons were made both by *Haddon*, the University Orator, and *Parker*, and *Redmayn*. The last of these was one of the most extraordinary Men, both for Learning, and a true Judgment of things, that was in that time: he had also in many things differed from *Bucer*, and yet he acknowledged, that there was none alive, of whom he hoped now to learn so much, as he had done by his conversation with him. *Bucer* was inferior to none of all the Reformers in Learning, but superior to most of them, in an excellent temper of mind, and a great zeal for preserving the Unity of the Church: a rare quality in that Age, in which *Melancthon* and he were the most eminent. He had not that nimbleness of disputing, for which *Peter Martyr* was more admired, and the Popish Doctors took advantage from that to carry themselves more insolently towards him.

*Gardiner's*  
deprivati-  
on.

Soon after this, *Gardiner's* Process was put to an end: A Commission was issued out to *Cranmer*, and three Bishops, and some Civilians, to proceed against him, for his contempt, in refusing to sign the Articles offered to him: he complained, that

that all that was done against him, was out of malice, that he had been long imprisoned, and nothing was objected to him, that he was resolved to obey the Laws and Orders of Council, but that he would acknowledge no fault, not having committed any. The things objected to him, were, that he refused to set out in his Sermon the King's power, when he was under Age, and had affronted the Preachers, whom the King had sent to his Diocess; that he had been negligent in executing the King's Injunctions, and refused to confess his fault, or ask the King pardon; and it was said that the Rebellions raised in *England*, might have been prevented, if he had timouly set forth the King's authority: he answered, that he was not required to do it by any Order of Council, but only in a private discourse; yet Witnesses being examined upon those particulars, the Delegates proceeded to sentence of deprivation against him, notwithstanding his Appeal to the King in Person: and he was appointed to lie still in the *Tower*, where he continued till Queen *Mary* discharged him. Nothing was pretended to excuse the severity of these proceedings, but that he having taken out a Commission for holding his Bishoprick, only during the King's pleasure, he could not complain when that was intimated to him: and if he had been turned out meerly upon pleasure, without the Pomp of a Process, the matter might have been better

**Book II.** ter excused. *Poinet* was put in his See, and had 2000. Marks in Lands assigned him for his subsistence. *Story* was put in **1551.** *Rockefter*, and upon *Veyfy*'s resignation *Co-verdale* was made Bishop of *Exeter*. The scruples that *Hooper* made, were now so far satisfied, that he was content both to be consecrated in his Vestments, and to use them when he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral, but he was dispensed with upon other occasions.

The Arti-  
cles of  
Religion  
agreed on.

By this time the greater number of the Bishops were Men that heartily received the Reformation: so it was resolved now to proceed to a settlement of the Doctrine of the Church: many thought that should have been done in the first place. But *Cranmer* judged it was better to proceed slowly in that matter: he thought the Corruptions in the Worship were to be begun with, since while they remained, the addresses to God were so defiled, that thereby all People were involved in unlawful compliances: he thought speculative Opinions might come last, since errors in them were not of such ill consequence: and he judged it necessary to lay these open, in many Treatises and Disputes, before they should proceed to make alterations, that so all People might be before-hand satisfied with what should be done. So now they framed a Body of Articles, which contained the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: they were cast into forty two Articles, and afterwards  
some



some few alterations being made in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, they were reduced to XXXIX. which being in all Peoples hands, need not be much enlarged on.

Book II.  
1551,

In the Ancient Church, there was at first a great simplicity in their Creeds; but afterwards, upon the breaking out of Heresies, concerning the Person of Christ, equivocal senses being put on the terms formerly used, new ones, that could not be so easily eluded, were invented. A humour of explaining Mysteries by similies and niceties, and of passing Anathema's on all that did not receive these, did much over-run the Church: and though the Council of *Ephesus* decreed, that no new additions should be made to the Creed, yet that did not restrain those, who loved to make all their own conceits be received, as parts of the Faith. The Fathers were carried too far with this curiosity, but the Schoolmen went farther, and spun the Thread much finer, they condemned every thing that differed from their Notions, as Heretical: Many of the *Lutherans* had retained much of that peremptoriness, and were not easie to those who differed from them. In *England* great care was taken to frame these Articles in the most comprehensive words, and the greatest simplicity possible.

When this was settled, they went about the review of the Common-prayer-Book.

Changes  
made in  
the Com-  
mon-pray-  
er-book.

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In the daily service, they added the Confession and Absolution, that so the worship of God might begin with a grave and humble Confession conceived in general words, but to which every one ought to joyn a secret confession of his particular sins: after which a solemn declaration of the mercy of God, according to the terms of the Gospel, was to be pronounced by the Priest. This was thought much better, than the giving Absolution in such formal words, as, *I absolve thee*, which begat in the undiscerning Vulgar an Opinion, that the Priest had authority to pardon sin, and that made them think of nothing so much, as how to purchase it at his hands: and it proved, as it was managed, the greatest Engine that ever was, for overthrowing the power of Religion. In the Communion-Service, they ordered a recital of the Commandments, with a short devotion between every one of them, judging that till Church-Discipline were restored, nothing could more effectually awaken such, as came to receive it, to a due seriousness in it, than the hearing the Law of God thus pronounced, with those stops in it, to make the People reflect on their offences against it. The Chrism, the use of the Cross in consecrating the Eucharist, Prayers for the Dead, and some expressions that favoured Transubstantiation were laid aside, and the Book was put in the same Order and Method, in which it continues to this day, excepting only some incon-

inconsiderable variations, that have been made since. A Rubrick was added to the Office of the Communion, explaining the reason of kneeling in it, that it was only as an expression of due reverence and gratitude, upon the receiving so particular a mark of the favour of God: but that no adoration was intended by it, and that they did not think Christ was corporally present in it. In Queen *Elizabeth's* time this was left out, that such as conformed in other things, but still retained the belief of the Corporal Presence, might not be offended at such a Declaration: It was again put in the Book, upon his present Majesties Restoration, for removing the Scruples of those who excepted to that posture. Christ did at first institute this Sacrament, in the ordinary Table-gesture. *Moses* appointed the Paschal Lamb to be eaten by the People standing, with staves in their hands, they being then to begin their march; yet that was afterwards changed by the *Jews*, who did eat it in the posture common at Meals, which our Saviour's practice justifies: so, though Christ in his state of Humiliation did Institute this Ordinance, in so familiar a posture, yet it was thought more becoming the reverence due to him in his Exaltation, to celebrate it with greater expressions of humility and devotion. The Ancient Christians received it standing, and bowing their Body downward: Kneeling was afterwards used as a higher expression

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pression of devout worship: but great difference is to be made, between the adoration practised in the Church of *Rome*, in which, upon lifting up the Host, all fall down and worship, and our being, during the whole action, in one continued posture of devotion: and if the *Jews*, who were more bound up to Ceremonies, made a change in the posture, at the Memorial of their deliverance, without any warrant mentioned in the Old Testament; it must be acknowledged, that the Christian Church, which is more at liberty in such matters, had authority to make the like change of the posture, in this Memorial of Christ's sufferings. At this time six of the most eminent Preachers were appointed to wait on the *Court* by turns, two at a time, and the other four were sent as Itinerant Preachers, into all the Counties of *England*, in a Circuit, for supplying the defects of the Clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

Lady *Mary*  
in trouble  
for having  
Mafs said.

The Mafs said in Lady *Mary's* Chappel, was now again challenged. The Court was less afraid of the Emperours displeasure than formerly, and so would no longer bear with so publick a breach of Law: And the Promise they had made being but Temporary, and never given in Writing, they thought they were not bound by it. But the Emperour assured her, that he had an absolute Promise for that Priviledge to her: This encouraged her so much, that when the Council wrote to her, she said she would



would follow the Catholick Church, and adhere to her Fathers Religion. Answer was writ in the Kings name, requiring her to obey the Law, and not to pretend that the King was under age, since the late Rebels had justified themselves by that.

The way of Worship then established, was also vindicated, as most consonant to the word of God. But she refused to engage into any disputes, only she said she would continue in her former courses.

And she was thinking of going out of *England*, insomuch that the Emperour ordered a Ship to lie near the Coast for her Transportation; which was strange advice, for it is probable, if she had gone beyond Sea, she had been effectually shut out from succeeding to the Crown. The Emperour espoused her quarrel so warmly, that he threatned to make War, if she should be hardly used, and the Merchants having then great effects at *Antwerp*, it was not thought fit to give him a colour for breaking with them, and seizing on these; so the Council were willing to let the matter fall, and only advised her to have her Mass privately said: yet the young King could not be easily induced to yield to that, for he said, he ought not to connive at Idolatry. The Council ordered *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Poynet*, to satisfy him in it: And they convinced him, that though he ought not to consent to any sin, yet he was not at all times obliged to punish it. He burst out in weeping, lamenting his Sisters obstinacy,

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stinacy, and his own circumstances, that obliged him to comply with such an impious way of Worship. Dr. *Wotton* was sent over to the Emperour, to convince him that no absolute Promise was ever made: For *Paget* and *Hobbey*, whom the Emperour vouched for it, declared upon Oath, that they made not any but what was Temporary; and since the King did not meddle in the concerns of the Emperours Family, it was not reasonable for him to interpose in this. The Emperor pretended, that he had promised to her Mother at her death, to protect her, and so he was bound in honour to take care of her: But now when the Council were not in such fear of the Emperours displeasure as formerly, they sent to seize on two of her Chaplains, that had said Mass in her House, when she was absent; they kept out of the way, and she writ to the Council to stop the prosecution, and continued to stand upon the Promise made to the Emperour. A long answer was returned to her by the Council, in which, after the matter of the Promise was cleared, they urged her with the absurdity of Prayers in an unknown tongue, offering the Sacrament for the dead, and worshipping Images: All the Ancients appealed upon all occasions to the Scriptures, by these she might easily discover the errors and cheats of the old Superstition, that were supported only by false Miracles and lying Stories. They concluded, that they being trusted with the execution of the Laws, were obliged

ged to proceed equally. *Mallet*, one of the Chaplains, was taken, and she earnestly desired that he might be set at liberty, but it was denied her. The Council sent for the chief Officers of her House, and required them to let her know the Kings pleasure, that she must have the new Service in her Family, and to give the like charge to her Chaplains and Servants. This vexed her much, and did almost cast her into sickness: She said, she would obey the King in every thing in which her Conscience was not touched: But charged them not to deliver the Councils Message to her Servants. Upon that, the Lord Chancellor, *Petre* and *Wynsfield*, were sent with the same orders to her, and carried to her a Letter from the King, which she received on her knees; but when she read it, she cast the blame of it on *Cecyl*, then Secretary of State. The Chancellour told her, the whole Council were of one mind, that they could not suffer her to use a form of Worship against Law: And had ordered them to intimate this both to herself and her Family. She made great protestations of duty to the King; but said, she would die rather than use any form of Worship but that which was left by her Father, only she was afraid she was not worthy to suffer on so good an account. When the King was of age, she would obey his Commands in Religion, and though he now knew many things above his age, yet as they did not think him yet capable of matters of War or

L

Policy,

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Policy, so much less could he judge in points of Divinity. If her Chaplains refused to say Mass, she could have none, but for the new Service she was resolved against it, and if it were forced on her, she would leave her house. She desired her Officers might be sent back to her, whom they had put in the *Tower*, for not intimating the Councils order to her Servants; which had been strange for them to have done, when she forbid it. She charged them to use her well for her Fathers sake, who had raised them all out of nothing. She was sick by reason of their ill usage, and if she died, she would lay it at their door. She insisted on the Promise made to the Emperour, who writ of it to her, and she believed him more than them all: She gave them a token, to be carried to the King, and so dismissed them. When they had laid a charge on her Chaplains and Servants, to the same effect, and were going away, she called after them, and desired they would send her Comptroller to her, for she was weary of receiving her accounts, and examining how many Loaves were made of a Bushel of Meal. Upon this resolution that she express, the Council went no further, only after this, her Mass was said so secretly, that she gave no publick scandal. From *Copthall*, where this was done, she removed, and lived at *Hunsden*, and thither *Ridley* went to see her: She received him very civilly, and ordered her Officers to entertain him at dinner: But when he begged leave to Preach



Preach before her, she at first blusht, but being further prest, she said he might Preach in the Parish Church, but neither she nor her Family would be there: He asked her if she refused to hear the word of God: She answered, they did not call that Gods word now, that they had called so in her Fathers days; and that in his time they durst not have said the things which they then Preached: And after some sharp and reproachful discourse, she dismiss him.

*Wharton*, one of her Officers, as he conducted him out, made him drink a little, but he reflecting on that, blamed himself for it; for he said, when the Word of God was rejected, he ought to have shaken off the dust of his Feet, and gone away. The Kings Sister *Elizabeth* did in all things conform to the Laws; for her Mother at her death recommended her to *Dr. Parker's* care, who instructed her well in the Principles of Christian Religion.

The Earl of *Warwick* began now to form great designs of bringing the Crown into his Family: The King was alienated from his Sister *Mary*, and the Privy Council had imbroiled themselves with her, and so would be easily engaged against her. The pretence against both the Sisters was the same, that they stood illegitimated by two Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, confirmed in Parliament. So that it would be a disgrace to the Nation to let the Crown devolve on Bastards: And sincethe fears of the Eldests revenge,

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The Earl of Warwick's designs.

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made the Council willing to exclude her, the only reason on which they could ground that, must take place against the second likewise. And therefore though the Crown was provided to them, both by Act of Parliament, and the late Kings Will, yet these being founded on an Errour that was indispensable, which was the baseness of their descent, they ought not to take place. They being laid aside, the Daughters of the *French Queen*, by *Charles Brandon*, stood next in the Act, and yet it was generally believed that they were Bastards: For it was given out that *Brandon* was secretly married to one *Mortimer*, at the time that he married the *French Queen*, and that *Mortimer* out-lived her, so that the issue by her was Illegitimate. The Sweating Sicknes did this year break out in *England*, with such Contagion that eight hundred died in one week of it in *London*; those that were taken with it, were inclined much to sleep, and all that slept died, but if they were kept awake a day, they did sweat it out. *Charles Brandon's* two Sons by his last Wife died within a day one of another. His eldest Daughter by the *French Queen* was married to the Marquess of *Dorset*, a good, but weak man, and so he was made Duke of *Suffolk*: They had no Sons, their eldest Daughter *Jane Gray*, was thought the wonder of the age. So the Earl of *Warwick* projected a Match between her and his fourth Son *Guilford*, his three elder Sons being then married: And because the Lady *Elizabeth* was

was like to stand most in the way, care was taken to send her out of *England*: and a Match was treated for her with the King of *Denmark*.

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A splendid Message was sent to *France*, with the Order of the Garter. The Marquess of *Northampton* carried it, three Earls, the Bishop of *Ely*, and five Lords were sent with him, and above two hundred Gentlemen accompanied them. They were to make a Proposition of Marriage for the King with a Daughter of *France*. The Bishop of *Ely* made the first Speech, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* answered him: it was soon agreed on, yet neither Party was to be bound, either in Honour or Conscience, till the Lady should be of Years to give consent. A noble Embassy was sent in return from *France* to *England*, with the Order of Saint *Michael*. They desired in their Master's name the continuance of the King's friendship, and that he would not be moved by Rumors, that might be raised to break their Alliance. The young King answered on the sudden, 'that Rumours were not always to be believed, nor always to be rejected, 'for it was no less vain to fear all things, 'than to doubt of nothing: if any differences hapned to arise, he should be always ready to determine them, rather 'by reason than by force, so far as his 'Honour should not be thereby diminished. This was thought a very extraordinary

A Treaty for a Marriage to the King.

~~~~~ answer, to be made by one of Fourteen  
Book II. on the sudden.

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The Duke  
of Somers-  
et's fall.]

There was at this time a great Creation of Peers. *Warwick* was made Duke of *Northumberland*, the blood of the *Piercies* being then under an Attainder: *Paulet* was made Marquess of *Winchester*, *Herbert* was made Earl of *Pembroke*, and a little before this, *Russel* had been made Earl of *Bedford*, and *Darcy* was made a Lord. There was none so likely to take the King out of *Northumberland's* hands, as the Duke of *Somerset*, who was beginning to form a new Party about the King; so upon some Informations, both the Duke of *Somerset* & his Dutchesse, *Sir Ralph Vane*, *Sir Tho. Palmer*, *Sir Tho. Arundel*, & several others, of whom, some were Gentlemen of Quality, and others were the Dukes servants, were all committed to the *Tower*. The committing of *Palmer* was to delude the World, for he had betrayed the Duke, and was clapt up as a Complice, and then pretended to discover a Plot: He said; the Duke intended to have raised the People, and that *Northumberland*, *Northampton* and *Pembroke*, having been invited to dine at the Lord *Pagets*, he intended to have set on them by the way, or have killed them at Dinner; that *Vane* was to have 2000. Men ready; *Arundel* was to have seized on the *Tower*, and all the Gendarimoury were to have been killed. All these things were told the young King with such Circumstances, that he too easily believed them, and



and so was much alienated from his Uncle, judging him guilty of so foul a Conspiracy. It was added by others, that the Duke intended to have raised the City of London, one *Crane* confirmed *Palmer's* testimony, and both the Earl of *Arundel*, and *Paget* were also committed as Complices. On the first of *December*, the Duke was brought to his Trial: The Marquess of *Winchester* was Lord Steward, and 27. Peers sat to judge him, among whom were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*. The particulars charged on him were, a design to seize on the King's Person, to imprison the Duke of *Northumberland*, and to raise the City of *London*; it seemed strange to see *Northumberland* sit a Judge, when the crime objected, was a design against his life: for though by the Law of *England* no Peer can be challenged, yet by the Law of Nature no Man can well judge where he is a Party. The Chancellour, though a Peer, was left out, upon suspicion of a reconciliation, which he was making with the Duke: He was not well skilled in Law, and neither objected to the Indictment, nor desired Counsel to plead for him, but only answered to matters of fact: he denied all designs to raise the People, or to kill *Northumberland*; if he had talked of it, it was in passion without any Intention: and it was ridiculous to think, that he with a small Troop, could destroy the Gendarmoury, who

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were 900. The armed Men he had about him, were only for his own defence, he had done no mischief to his Enemies, though it was once in his power to have done it; and he had rendred himself without making any resistance: He desired the Witnesses might be brought face to face, and objected many things to them; chiefly to *Palmer*; but that was not done, and their Depositions were only read: The King's Council pleaded upon the Statute, against unlawful Assemblies, that to contrive the death of Privy Counsellors was Felony, and to have Men about him for his defence, was also Felony. The material defence was omitted, for by that Statute those Assemblies were not felonious, except being required to disperse themselves, they had refused to do it, and it does not appear that any such Proclamation had been made in this case. The Proofs of his raising Rebellion were insufficient, so he was acquitted of Treason, which raised a great shout of joy, that was heard as far as *Charing-Cross*, but he was found guilty of Felony, for intending to imprison *Northumberland*. He carried himself, during the Trial, with great temper, and all the sharpness which the Kings Council expressed in pleading against him, did not provoke him to any undecent passion. But when Sentence was given, he sunk a little, and asked the three Lords, that were his Enemies, pardon, for his ill designs against them, and made sute for his

his life, and for his Wife and Children. It was generally thought, that nothing being found against him, but an Intention to imprison a Privy Counsellor, that never took effect, one so nearly related to the King, would not have been put to death on that account. It was therefore necessary to raise in the King a great Aversion to him: so a story was brought to the King, as if in the *Tower* he had confessed a design to imploy some to Assassinate those Lords; and the Persons named for that wicked service, were also perswaded to take it on them. This being believed by the King, he took no more care to preserve him, assassination being a crime of so barbarous a nature, that it possessed him with a horror, even to his Uncle, when he thought him guilty of it: and therefore he was given up to his Enemies rage. *Stanhope*, *Partridge*, *Arundel* and *Vane* were tried next, the two first were not much pitied, for they had made a very ill use of their Interest in the Duke, during his greatness: the other two were much lamented. *Arundels* Jury was shut up a whole Day and a Night, and those that were for the acquittal, yielded to the fury of the rest, only that they might save their own Lives, and not be starved. *Vane* had done great services in the Wars, and carried himself with a Magnanimity, that was thought too extravagant: they were all condemned, and *Partridge* and he were hanged, the other Two were beheaded.

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Rich gives  
up the  
Great Seal,  
and it was  
given to  
the Bish. of  
Ely.

The Lord Chancellor was become a secret friend to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and that was thus diſcovered : he went aſide once at Council, and writ a Note, giving the Duke notice of what was then in agitation againſt him, and endorſed it only for *the Duke*, and ſent it to the *Tower*, but his Servant not having particular directions, ſanſied it was to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and not to *Somerſet*, and carried it to him. He to make *Northumberland* his friend, ſent this to him ; *Rich* underſtanding the miſtake, in which his Servant had fallen, prevented the diſcovery, and went immediately to the King, and pretending ſome indiſpoſition, deſired to be diſcharged ; and upon that took his Bed, ſo it ſeemed too barbarous to do any thing further againſt him, only the Great Seal was taken from him, and was put in the Biſhop of *Ely*'s hands. This was much cenſured, for all the Reformers had inveighed ſeverely againſt the ſecular employments, and high places, which Biſhops had in the Church of *Rome*, ſince by theſe they were taken wholly off from the care of Souls, or thoſe ſpiritual exerciſes that might diſpoſe them for it, and aſſumed only the name and garb of Churchmen, to ſerve their Ambition and Covetouſneſs ; and by this the People were much prejudiced againſt them, ſo upon *Goodrick*'s advancement, this was turned againſt the Reformers : it was ſaid, they only complained of thoſe things, when their Enemies enjoyed them,



them, but changed their minds, as soon as they  
 fell into the hands of their friends: but *Goodrick*  
 was no Pattern, he complied only with  
 the Reformation, but turned when *Queen*  
*Mary* succeeded. Christ said, *Who made*  
*me a Judge?* St. Paul left it as a Rule,  
*that no Man that warreth, entangleth him-*  
*self with the affairs of this life.* This Saint  
*Cyprian*, and the other Fathers understood, as  
 a perpetual prohibition of Churchmen's  
 meddling with secular matters; and con-  
 demned it severely. Many Canons were  
 made against it in Provincial Councils,  
 and a very full one was decreed at *Chal-*  
*cedon*. But as the Bishops of *Rome* and  
*Alexandria* grew rich, and powerful, they  
 establisht a sort of secular principality in  
 the Church: and other Sees, as they en-  
 creased in wealth, affected to imitate them.  
*Charles* the Great, raised this much every  
 where, and gave great Territories and  
 Priviledges to the Church; upon which,  
 the Bishop and Abbots, were not only ad-  
 mitted to a share, in the Publick Counsels,  
 by virtue of their Lands, but to all the  
 chief Offices of the State; and then Ec-  
 clestialtical Preferments were given to  
 Courtiers, as Rewards for their services:  
 and by these means the Clergy became  
 very corrupt, Merit and Learning being no  
 more the standards, by which Men were  
 esteemed or promoted: and Bishops were  
 only considered, as a sort of great Men,  
 who went in a peculiar Habit, and on  
 great

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great Festivities were obliged to say Mass, or perform some other Solemnities, but they wholly abandoned the Souls committed to their care, and left the spiritual part of their callings, to their Vicars and Arch-deacons, who made no other use of it, but to squeeze the Inferiour Clergy, and to oppress the People: and it was not easie to perswade the world, that those Bishops did much aspire to Heaven, who were so indecently thrusting themselves into the Courts of Princes, and meddling so much in matters, that did not belong to them, that they neglected those, for which they were to account to God.

The Duke  
of Somerset's  
Execution.

On the 22. day of *January*, the Duke of *Somerset* was executed at *Tower-Hill*, the substance of his Speech, was a Vindication of himself, 'from all ill designs, 'he confessed his private sins, and acknowledged the mercies of God, in granting him time to Repent: he declared 'that he had acted sincerely in all he did, 'in matters of Religion, while he was in 'power: and rejoyced for his being 'instrumental in so good a work: he exhorted the People to live suitably to the 'doctrine received among them; otherwise they might look for great Judgments from God. As he was going on, there was an unaccountable Noise heard, which so frightened the People, that many run away. Sir *Anthony Brown* came up, riding towards the Scaffold, which made the

the Spectators think, that he brought a Pardon, and this occasioned great shouts of Joy, but they soon saw their mistakes; so the Duke went on in his Speech, 'He declared his chearful submission to the will of God, and desired them likewise to acquiesce in it; he prayed for the King and his Council, and exhorted the People to continue obedient to them: and asked the forgiveness of all, whom at any time he had offended. Then he turned to his private devotions, and fitted himself for the blow, which upon the signal given, severed his Head from his Body.

He was a Man of extraordinary Virtues, of great candor, and eminent Piety: he was always a promoter of Justice, and a Patron of the oppressed. He was a better Captain than a Counsellor, and was too easie and open-hearted, to be so cautious, as such times, and such Employments required. It was generally believed, all this Conspiracy, for which he, and the other Four suffered, was only a forgery: all the other Complices were quickly discharged, and *Palmer*, the chief Witness, became *Northumberlands* particular confident: and the indiscreet words, which the Duke of *Somerset* had spoken, and his gathering armed Men about him, was imputed to *Palmer's* artifices, who had put him in fear of his life, and so made him do, and say those things, for which he lost it. His four friends did all end their Lives,

Lives, with the most solemn protestations of their Innocence, and the whole matter was lookt on, as a contrivance of *Northumberland*, by which he lost the affections of the People entirely. Some reflected on the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Surrey's* death, occasioned likewise by a Conspiracy of their own Servants, in which it was thought, this Duke was too active. He was also much censured for his Brothers death. He had raised much of his Estate out of the spoils of Bishops Lands, and his Palace out of the Ruines of some Churches; and to this some added a remark, that he did not claim the benefit of his Clergy, which would have saved him, and since he had so spoiled the Church, they imputed it to a particular Judgment on him, that he forgot it: But in this they were mistaken, for in the Act by which he was condemned, it was provided that no Clergy should purge that Felony.

The affairs  
of Germany.

In *Germany*, *Maurice* began this year to form a great design: He enter'd into correspondences not only with the Princes of *Germany*, but also with *France* and *England*; and having given intimations of his designs for the liberty of *Germany*, and the security of the Protestant Religion, to some that had great credit in *Magdeburg*, he brought that Town to a surrender, and having made himself sure of the Army, he quartered his Troops in the Territories of



of the Popish Princes, by which they were all much alarmed, only the Emperour did not apprehend the danger till it was too late for him. A quarrel fell in between the Pope and the King of *France*, about *Parma*: The Pope threatned, if that King would not restore *Parma*, he would take *France* from him. Upon that, the Council being now again opened at *Trent*, the King of *France* protested against it, and declared that he would call a National Council in *France*, and would not obey, nor receive their Decrees. The Emperour still pressed the *Germans* to send Embassadors and Divines to *Trent*. The Council began with the points about the Eucharist, and it was ordered that these should be handled according to the Scriptures and Ancient Authors; the *Italians* did not like this, and said the bringing many quotations was only an Act of Memory, and that way would give the *Lutherans* great advantages: The sublime speculations of the Schools, together with their terms, were much safer Weapons to deal with. A Safe-Conduct was demanded from the Council, for the Emperours Conduct was not thought sufficient, since at *Constance*, *John Huss*, and *Jerome* of *Prague* were burnt, though they had the Emperours Safe-Conduct. The Council of *Basil* had granted a very full one to the *Bohemians*; so the *Lutherans* demanded one in the same form, but though one was granted, yet it was in many things short of that. The Elector of

*Brand*

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*Brandenburg* sent an Embassadour to *Trent*, who made a general Speech of the respect his Master had for them. The Legates answered, and thanked him for submitting to their Decrees, of which the Embassadour had not said a word; but when he expostulated about it, the Legates said, they answered him according to that he ought to have said, and not to that he did say. The Council decreed, the manner of Christs presence to be ineffable, and yet added that Transubstantiation was a fit term for it; for that was a notion as unconceivable as any that could be thought on: Then they decreed the necessity of Auricular Confession, that thereby Priests might keep a proportion between Penances and Sins, which was thought a mockery; for the trade of slight Penances, and easie Absolutions for the greatest sins, shewed there was no care taken to adjust the one to the other. The Embassadour of the Duke of *Wirtemberg* came, and moved for a Safe-Conduct to their Divines to come and maintain their Doctrine: The Legates answered, they would enter into no disputes with them, but if they came with an humble mind, and proposed their scruples, they would satisfie them. Embassadours from some Towns arrived at *Trent*, and those sent by the Duke of *Saxe* were on their way, upon which the Emperour ordered his Agents, to gain time, and hinder the Council to proceed in their decisions till those were heard, but all he could prevail in,

in, was that the Article concerning the Communion in both kinds, was postponed till they should come.

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The day after the Duke of *Somerset's* execution, a Session of Parliament was assembled. The first Act they past was about the Common-Prayer-Book, as it was now amended: To it only one Earl, two Bishops, and two Lords dissented. The Book was appointed to be every where received after *All-hallows* next. The Bishops were required to proceed by the censures of the Church, against such as came not to it; they also authorized the Book of Ordinations, and enacted the same Penalties against offenders, that were in the Act for the former Book three years before. The Papists took occasion on the changes now made in the Book, to say, that the new Doctrines and ways of Worship changed as fast as the fashions did. It was answered, That it was no wonder if corruptions, which had been creeping in for a thousand years, were not all discovered, and thrown out at once; and since they had been every age making additions of new Ceremonies, it might be excused, if the Purging them out was done by such easie degrees. The Book was not to be received till *All-hallows*, because it was hoped that between and then the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws would have been finished: A Bill concerning Treasons past with only one dissent, it was much opposed in the H. of Commons; for

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A Session of Parliament.

the multiplying of Treasons is always lookt  
 on as a severity in the Government. One  
 Bill was rejected, but another was agreed  
 on, 'If any called the King, or his Suc-  
 cessors, named in the Statute of 35 *Hen. 8.*  
 Heretick, Tyrant, or other opprobrious  
 words, he was for the first offence to be  
 punished with a forfeiture of Goods and  
 Chattels, for the second with a *Præmu-  
 nire*, and the third offence was made  
 Treason: but if it was done in printing  
 or writing, the first offence was Treason.  
 None were to be prosecuted for  
 words, but within three Months: and  
 two Witnesses were made necessary, who  
 should aver their Depositions to the Parties  
 face. This seems to relate to the  
 proceedings against the Duke of *Somerset*,  
 in which the Witnesses did not appear,  
 so that he lost the advantage of cross  
 examining them: and many times Innocence  
 and guilt discover themselves, when the  
 Parties are confronted. Another Law  
 past for Holy-days and Fasts. 'No days  
 were to be esteemed *Holy* in their own nature,  
 but by reason of those Holy duties  
 which ought to be done in them, for  
 which they were dedicated to the service  
 of God. Days were esteemed to be dedicated  
 only to the honour of God, even those in  
 which the Saints were commemorated;  
*Sundays*, and the other Holy-days were to be  
 religiously observed, and the Bishops were to  
 proceed to Censures against offenders, only Labourers or  
 Sher-



‘her-men in case of necessity, might work  
‘on them: The Eves before them were  
‘to be Fasts, and abstinence from Flesh  
‘was enacted, both in *Lent*, and on *Fridays*  
‘and *Saturdays*. This liberty to Trades-  
men to work on these days, was abused  
to a publick profanation of them, but  
the stricter clauses in the Act were little  
regarded. An Act past, empowering Church-  
wardens to gather Collections for the poor,  
and the Bishops to proceed against such as  
refused to contribute; which though it  
was a Bill that taxed the people, yet had  
its first rise in the House of Lords. A Bill  
was past by the Lords, but rejected by the  
Commons, for securing the Clergy from  
falling under the lash of a *Premunire* by Ig-  
norance; and that they ought to be first  
prohibited by the Kings Writ, and not be  
sued unless they continued after that, stiff  
in their disobedience. An Act past for  
the Marriage of the Clergy, four Earls and  
six Lords dissenting from it: ‘That where-  
‘as the former Act about it was thought on-  
‘ly a permission of it, as some other unlaw-  
‘ful things were connived at; upon which  
‘the Wives and Children of the Clergy  
‘were reproachfully used, and the Word  
‘of God was not heard with due reverence;  
‘therefore their Marriages were declared  
‘good and valid. The Marquess of *Nor-*  
*thampton* procured an Act, confirming his  
second Marriage, and that occasioned ano-  
ther to be proposed in the House of Lords,  
that no man might put away his Wife and

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Book II. marry another, unless he were first Divorced; but it was laid aside by the Commons. The Bishoprick of *Westminster* was re-united to *London*, only the Collegiate Church was still continued.

An Act against Usury.

An Act past concerning Usury, repealing a Law made 37 *Hen. 8.* 'That none might take above 20 *per Cent.* All Usury, or profit for Money lent, was condemned, as contrary to the Word of God, and transgressors were to be imprisoned, and fined at pleasure. This has been since that time repealed, and several regulations have been made of the gain by lent Money, which is now reduced to 6 *per Cent.* The prohibitions of Usury by *Moses* have been thought Moral, others have believed that they were founded only on the equal division of the Land; and since it was then lawful to take Usury of a stranger, they have inferred that the Law was not Moral, otherwise it must be of perpetual obligation: It was also a great incitement to industry not to lend upon profit, and it made every man lay out his Money in some way of advantage, and their neighbourhood to *Tyre* and *Sidon* gave them a quick vent of their Manufacture, without which it is not easie to imagine how such vast numbers could have lived in so narrow a Countrey: So that these Laws seem'd to be only judiciary. It was thought at first suitable to the Brotherly kindness that ought to be among Christians, to lend without gain; but at last Canons were made against

against taking Usury, and it was put among the reserved Cases. Mortgages were an invention to avoid that, for the use was paid as the Rent of the Land mortgaged, and not of the Money lent. Inventions also were found for those who had no Land to mortgage, to make such bargains that gain was made of the Money, and yet not in the way of Usury. These were tricks only to deceive people, and it is not easy to shew how the making such a gain as holds proportion to the value of Land is immoral in it self; if the rule settled by Law is not exceeded, and men deal not unmercifully with those, who by inevitable accidents are disabled from making payment. Another Bill was past against Simony, the reserving pensions out of Benefices, and granting Advowsons while the Incumbent was yet alive, but it had not the Royal Assent. Simony has been oft complained of, and many Laws and Canons have been made against it, but new contrivances are still found out to elude them all: And it is a disease that will still hang on the Church, as long as Covetousness and Ambition ferment so strongly in the minds of Church-men.

A Bill was sent to the House of Commons, signed by the King, repealing the settlement of the Duke of Somerset's Estate, 23 Hen. 8. made in favour of his Children, by his second Wife, to exclude the Children by his first, of whom are descended the *Simours* of *Devonshire*, which

A Repeal of the settlement of the Duke of Somerset's estate.

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*Tonstall* is  
imprison-  
ed.

some imputed to a Jealousie, he had of his first Wife, and others ascribed it to the power his second Wife had over him. But the Commons were very unwilling to void a settlement confirmed in Parliament, and so for Fifteen days it was debated: A new Bill was devised, and that was much altered, and the Bill was not finished till the day before the dissolution of the Parliament. The Lords added a Proviso, confirming the Duke of *Somerset's* Attainder, but that was cast out by the Commons. Some Writings had been sealed with relation to a Marriage between the Earl of *Hartford*, the Dukes Son, and the Earl of *Oxford's* Daughter, and the Lords sent down a Bill voiding these, but upon a division in the House of Commons, 68. were for it, and 69. were against it; so it was cast out. The House was now thin, when we find but 137. Members in it: but that is one of the effects of a long Parliament: many grow infirm, and many keep out of the way on design, and those who at their first Election were the Representatives of the People, after they have sat long, become a Cabal of Men, that pursue their own Interests, more than the Publick Service. *Tonstall* Bishop of *Durham*, upon some Informations, was put in Prison in the former year: The Duke of *Northumberland* intended to erect a great Principality for his Family in the North; and the accession of the Jurisdiction of the County *Palatine*, which is in that See, seemed



seemed so considerable, that he resolved to ruine *Tonstall*, and so make way for that. He complied in all the changes that were made, though he had protested against them in Parliament; he writ also for the Corporal Presence, but with more Eloquence than Learning: He was a candid and moderate Man, and there was always a good correspondence between *Crammer* and him: and now when the Bill was put in against him, he opposed it, and protested against it, by which he absolutely lost the Duke of *Northumberland*: but all the Popish complying Bishops went along with it. There were some Depositions read in the House of Lords to justify it, but when the Bill with these was sent down to the Commons, they resolved to put a stop to that way of condemning Men without hearing them: so they sent a Message to the Lords, that he and his Accusers might be heard face to face, and that not being done, they let the Bill fall. By these Indications, it appeared that the House of Commons had little kindness for the Duke of *Northumberland*. Many of them had been much obliged to the Duke of *Somerset*; so it was resolved to have a new Parliament, and this which had sat almost five years, was on the 15<sup>th</sup> of *April* dissolved.

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The Convocation did confirm the Articles of Religion, that had been prepared the former year, and thus was the Reformation of Worship and Doctrine now prepared;

M 4

brought

A Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws prepared;

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brought to such perfection, that since that time there has been very little alteration made in these. But another Branch of it was yet unfinished, and was now under consultation, touching the Government of the Church, and the rules of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Two Acts had passed in the former reign; and one in this, empowering XXXII. to revise all the Laws of the Church, and digest them into a body. King *Henry* issued out a Commission, and the Persons were named, who made some progress in it, as appears by some of *Cranmer's* Letters to him. In this Reign it had been begun several times, but the Changes in the Government made it be laid aside. Thirty two were found to be too many for preparing the first draught, so Eight were appointed to make it ready for them: These were *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, *Cox* and *Peter Martyr*, *Traberon* and *Taylor*, and *Lucas* and *Gosnold*, two Bishops, two Divines, two Civilians, and two Common Lawyers; but it was generally believed, that *Cranmer* drew it all himself, and the rest only corrected what he designed. *Haddon* and *Cheek* were employed to put it in *Latine*; in which they succeeded so well, and arrived at so true a purity in the *Roman* stile, that it looks like a work of the best Ages of that State, before their Language was corrupted with the mixture of barbarous terms and phrases, with which all the later Writings were filled, but none were more nauseously

scarcely sude than the Books of the Canon Law. The Work was cast into fifty one Titles; perhaps it was designed to bring it near the number of the Books, into which *Justinian* digested the *Roman* Law. The Eight finished it; and offered it to the XXXII. who divided themselves into Four Classes, every one was to offer his Corrections, and when it had past through them all, it was to be offered to the King for his Confirmation; but the King died before it was quite finished, nor was it ever afterwards taken up: yet I shall think it no useless part of this work, to give an account of what was intended to be done in this matter, as well as I relate what was done in other things.

The first Title of it was concerning the Catholick Faith: it was made Capital to deny the Christian Religion. The Books of Scripture were reckoned up, and the Apocrypha left out. The four first General Councils were received, but both Councils and Fathers were to be submitted to, only as they agreed with the Scriptures. The second enumerates and condemns many Heresies, extracted out of the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*, and the Tenets of the Anabaptists: and among others, those who excused their lives, by the pretence of Predestination, are reckoned up. The judgment of Heresie was to lye in the Bishops Court, except in exempted places. Persons suspected might be required to purge themselves, and those who

The heads of it,

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who were convicted, were to abjure and do Penance, but such as were obstinate, were declared Infamous, and not to have the benefit of the Law, or of making Testaments, and so all Capital proceedings for Heresie were laid aside. 4. Blasphemy against God was to be punished as obstinate Heresie. 5. The Sacraments, and other parts of the Pastoral Charge, were to be decently performed. 6. All Magick, Idolatry, or Conjuring was to be punished arbitrarily, and in case of obstinacy, with Excommunication. 7. Bishops were appointed once a Year to call all their Clergy together, to examine them concerning their Flocks: and Itinerant Preachers were to be often employed for visiting such Precincts as might be put under their care. 8. All Marriages were to be after asking of Banes, and to be annulled, if not done according to the Book of Common Prayer. Corrupters of Virgins were to marry them; or if that could not be done, to give them the third part of their Goods, and suffer Corporal punishment. Marriages made by force, or without consent of Parents, were declared null. Polygamy was forbid, and Mothers were required to suckle their Children. 9. The degrees of Marriage were settled according to the *Levitical* Law, but spiritual kindred was to be no barr. 10. A Clergyman guilty of Adultery, was to forfeit his Goods and Estate to his Wife and Children, or to some pious use; and to be



be banished or Imprisoned during life: a Layman guilty of it, was to forfeit the half, and be banished or Imprisoned during life: Wives that were guilty, were to be punished in the same manner. The Innocent Party might marry again after a Divorce. Desertion, or Mortal Enmity, or the constant perverseness of a Husband, might induce a Divorce, but little quarrels, nor a perpetual Disease might not do it; and the separation from Bed and Board, except during a Trial, was never to be allowed. 11. Patrons were charged to give presentations, without making bargains; to choose the fittest persons, and not to make promises till the Livings were vacant. The Bishops were required to use great strictness in the Trial of those, whom they ordained: all Pluralities and Non-residence were condemned, and all that were presented were to purge themselves of Simony by Oath. The twelfth and thirteenth were concerning the changing of Benefices. The fourteenth was concerning the manner of purgation upon common fame: all superstitious Purgations were condemned. Others followed, about Dilapidations, Elections and Collations. The nineteenth was concerning Divine Offices. The Communion was ordered to be every Sunday in Cathedrals, and a Sermon was to be in them in the afternoon: such as received the Sacrament, were to give notice to the Minister the day before, that he might examine their Consciences:

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sciences: The Catechism was appointed to be explained for an Hour in the afternoon on Holy-days: After the Evening Prayer, the Poor were to be taken care of, Penances were to be enjoined to scandalous Persons, and the Minister was to confer with some of the Ancients of the People, concerning the state of the Parish, That admonitions and censures might be applied, as there was occasion given. The twentieth was concerning other Church-Officers: A Rural Dean was to be in every Precinct to watch over the Clergy, according to the Bishops directions: Archdeacons were to be over them, and the Bishop over all: who was to have yearly Synods, and visit every third Year. His Family was to consist of Clergymen, in imitation of St. *Austin*, and other ancient Bishops, these he was to train up, for the service of the Church: When Bishops became infirm, they were to have Co-adjutors: Arch-bishops were to do the Episcopal duties in their Diocess, and to visit their Province. Every Synod was to begin with a Communion, and after that the Ministers were to give an account of their Parishes, and follow such directions as the Bishop should give them. Other heads followed concerning Church-Wardens; Tithes, Universities, Visitations, and several sorts of Censures. In the thirtieth, a large Scheme was drawn of Excommunication, which was intrusted to Churchmen, for keeping the Church pure, and was

was not to be inflicted, but for obstinacy in some gross fault: all causes upon which it was pronounced, were to be examined before the Minister of the Parish, a Justice of Peace, and some other Church-men. It was to be pronounced and intimated with great seriousness, and all were to be warned not to keep company with the person censured, under the like pains, except those of his own Family: Upon his continuing forty days obstinate under it, a Writ was to be issued out for Commitment, till the Sentence should be taken off. Such as had the King's Pardon for Capital offences, were yet liable to Church censures. Then followed the Office of absolving Penitents. They were to come to the Church-door, and crave admittance, and the Minister having brought them in, was to read a long discourse concerning Sin, Repentance, and the Mercies of God. Then the Party was to confess his sin, and to ask God, and the Congregation pardon; upon which the Minister was to lay his hands on his Head, and to pronounce the Absolution. Then a thanksgiving was to be offered to God, at the Communion Table, for the reclaiming that sinner. The other Heads of this work, relate to the other parts of the Law of those Courts. It is certain, that the abounding of Vice and Impiety, flows in a great measure from the want of that strictness of censure, which was the glory of the Christian Church in the Primitive times: and

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The Poverty of the Clergy.

and it is a publick connivance at sin, that there have not been more effectual ways taken for making sinners ashamed, and denying them the Priviledges of Christians, till they have changed their ill course of life.

There were at this time also remedies under consideration, for the great misery and poverty the Clergy were generally in: but the Laity were so much concerned to oppose all these, that there was no hope of bringing them to any good effect, till the King should come to be of Age himself, and endeavour to recover again a competent maintenance, for the Clergy, out of their hands, who had devoured their Revenues. Both *Heath* and *Day*, the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester*, were this Year deprived of their Bishopricks, by a Court of Delegates, that were all Laymen. But it does not appear, for what offences they were so censured. The Bishopricks of *Gloucester* and *Worcester* were both united, and put under *Hooper's* care; but soon after, the former was made an exempted Archdeaconry, and he was declared Bishop only of *Worcester*. In every See, as it fell vacant, the best Mannors were laid hold on by such hungry Courtiers, as had the Interest to procure the Grant of them. It was thought, that the Bishops Sees were so out of Measure enriched, that they could never be made poor enough: but such hast was made in spoiling them, that they were reduced to

so



so low a condition, that it was hardly possible for a Bishop to subsist in them. If what had been thus taken from them, had been converted to good uses, such as the supplying the Inferiour Clergy, it had been some mitigation of so heinous a robbery: But their Lands were snatched up by Laymen, who thought of making no Compensation to the Church for the spoils thus made by them.

This Year the Reformation had some more footing in *Ireland* than formerly. *Henry* the VIII. had assumed to himself, by consent of the Parliament of that Kingdom, the Title of *King of Ireland*: the former Kings of *England* having only been called *Lords* of it. The Popes and Emperours have pretended, that such Titles could be given only by them: The former said, all power in Heaven and Earth was given to Christ, and by consequence to his Vicar. The latter, as carrying the Title of *Roman* Emperour, pretended, that as they Anciently bestowed those Titles, so that devolved on them, who retained only the name and shadow of that Great Authority. But Princes and States have thought that they may bring themselves under what Titles they please. In *Ireland*, though the Kings of *England* were well obeyed within the *English* Pale, yet the *Irish* continued barbarous and uncivilised, and depended on the heads of their Names or Tribes, and were obedient, or did rebel as they directed them. In *Ulster* they had

Affairs in  
*Ireland*.

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a great dependance on *Scotland*: and there were some risings there, during the War with *Scotland*, which were quieted, by giving the Leading-men Pensions, and getting them to come and live within the *English* Pale. *Monluc*, Bishop of *Valence*, being then in *Scotland*, went over thither to engage them to raise new Commotions; but that had no effect: while he was there, his lasciviousness came to be discovered by an odd accident, for a Whore was brought to him by some *English* Friars, and secretly kept by him: but she searching among his Clothes, fell on a Glass, full of somewhat, that was very odoriferous, and drank it off; which being discovered by the Bishop, too late, put him in a most violent passion: for it had been given him, as a Present, by *Soliman* the Magnificent, when he was Ambassador at his Court. It was call'd the richest balm of *Egypt*, and valued at 2000 Crowns. His rage grew so boisterous, that all about him, discovered both his Passion, and Lewdness at once. The Reformation was set up in the *English* Pale, but had made a small progress among the *Irish*. This Year *Bale* was sent over to labour among them. He was a busie Writer, and was a Learned zealous Man, but did not write with the temper and decency that became a Divine. *Goodaker* was sent to be Primate of *Armagh*, and he was to be Bishop of *Ossory*. Two *Irish* Men were also promoted with them; who

under-

undertook to advance the Reformation there. The Archbishop of *Dublin* intended to have ordained them by the old Pontifical, and all, except *Bale*, were willing it should be so, but he prevailed that it should be done according to the new book of Ordinations: after that he went into his Diocess, but found all there in dark Popery, and before he could make any Progress, the King's death put an end to his designs. There was a change settled in the Order of the Garter this Year. A Proposition was made the former year, to consider how the Order might be freed from the Superstition, that was supposed to be in it. *St. George's* fighting with a Dragon, lookt like a Legend forged in dark Ages, to support the humour of Chivalry, then very high in the world. The story was neither credible in it self, nor vouched by any good Author: nor was there any of that name mentioned by the Ancients, but *George the Arrian* Bishop, that was put in *Alexandria*, when *Athanasius* was banished. Some Knights were appointed to prepare a Reformation of the Order: and the Earl of *Westmorland*, and Sir *Andrew Dudley* were this Year Installed according to the New Model. It was appointed to be called in all time coming, the Order of the *Garter*, and no more the Order of *St. George*; instead of the former *George*, there was to be on the one side of the Jewel, a Man on Horseback, with a Bible on his Swords.

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A Change  
in the  
Garter.

N

point:

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point: On the Sword was written *Prote-  
ctio*, and on the Bible *Verbum Dei*; and  
on the Reverse a Shield, and *Fides* writ-  
ten upon it: to shew that they would  
maintain the Word of God, both with  
offensive and defensive Weapons: but all  
this was reversed by Queen *Mary*, and  
the old Statutes were again revived, which  
continue to this day.

*Northum-  
berlands  
severity.*

There was at this time a strict enquiry  
made into the accounts of all, who had  
been employed in the former part of this  
Reign; for it was believed, that the Vi-  
sitors had embezel'd much of the Plate of  
the Churches: and these were the Crea-  
tures of the Duke of *Somerset*, which  
made *Northumberland* prosecute them more  
vehemently: On none did this fall more  
severely, than on the Lord *Paget*, who was  
not only fined in 6000 *l.* but was degra-  
ded from the Order of the Garter, with  
a particular mark of Infamy on his Ex-  
traction; yet he was afterwards restored  
to it with as much honour. He had been  
a constant friend to the Duke of *Somerset*,  
and that made his Enemies execute so se-  
vere a Revenge on him. *Northumberland*  
was preparing matters for a Parliament,  
and being a Man of an Insolent temper,  
no less abject when he was low, than list-  
ed up with prosperity, he thought ex-  
tream severity was the only way to bring  
the Nation easily to comply with his ad-  
ministration of affairs; but this, though  
it



it succeeded for some time, yet when he needed it most, it turned violently upon him: for nothing can work on a free People so much, as Justice and Clemency in the Government.

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A great design was settled this Year, Trade which proved to be the foundation of all flourishes that Wealth and Trade, that has since much. that time flourished so much in this Nation. *Henry* the III. had been much supported in his Wars, by the assistance he got from the Free-Towns of *Germany*, in recompence of which he gave them great Priviledges in *England*. They were formed here in a Corporation, and lived in the *Still Yard* near *London-Bridge*. They had gone sometimes beyond their Charters, which were thereupon judged to be forfeited, but by great Presents they purchased new ones. They traded in a Body, and so ruined others by under-selling them; and by making Presents at Court, or lending great Summs, they had the Government on their side. Trade was now rising much, Courts began to be more Magnificent, so that there was a greater consumption, particularly of Cloth, than formerly. *Antwerp* and *Hamburgh* lying, the one near the mouth of the *Rhine*, and the other at the mouth of the *Elbe*, had then the chief Trade in these Parts of the World; and their Factors in the *Still-Yard*, had all the Markets in *England* in their hands; and set such Prices, both on

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what they imported or exported, as they pleased, and broke all other Merchants to such a degree, that the former Year they had shipped 44000. Clothes, and all the other Traders had not shipped above 1100. So the Merchant-adventurers complained of the *Still-Yard Men*, and after some hearings, it was judged that they had forfeited their Charter, and that their Company was dissolved: nor could all the applications of the *Hanse Towns*, seconded by the Emperour's Intercession, procure them a new Charter. But a greater design was proposed, after this was settled; which was to open two free *Mart Towns* in *England*, and to give them such Privileges, as the free Towns in the Empire had, and by that means to draw the Trade to *England*: *Southampton* and *Hull* were thought the fittest. This was so far entertained by the young King, that he writ a large Paper, ballancing the conveniencies and inconveniencies of it, but all that fell with his Life.

*Cardan in  
England.*

This year *Cardan*, the great Philosopher of that Age, past through *England*, as he returned from *Scotland*. The Archbishop of *St. Andrews* had sent for him out of *Italy*, to cure him of a Dropsie: in which he had good success; but being much conversant in Astrology and Magick, he told him he could not change his fate, and that he was to be hanged. He waited on King *Edward* as he returned, and was

so

so charmed with his great knowledge and rare qualities, that he always spake of him, as the rarest Person he had ever seen: and after his death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he writ the following Character of him.

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'All the Graces were in him: he had  
'many Tongues, when he was yet but a  
'Child; together with the *English*, his  
'Natural Tongue, he had both *Latin* and  
'*French*; nor was he ignorant, as I hear,  
'of the *Greek*, *Italian*, and *Spanish* and  
'perhaps some more; But for the *Eng-*  
'*lish*, *French* and *Latin*, he was exact in  
'them, and was apt to learn every thing. Nor  
'was he ignorant of Logick, of the Prin-  
'ciples of Natural Philosophy, nor of  
'Musick; The sweetness of his Temper  
'was such as became a Mortal, his Gra-  
'vity becoming the Majesty of a King,  
'and his Disposition was suitable to his high  
'Degree: In sum, that Child was so bred,  
'had such parts, and was of such expectati-  
'on, that he looked like a Miracle of a  
'Man: These things are not spoken Rhe-  
'torically, and beyond the Truth, but are  
'indeed short of it. And afterwards he  
adds, 'He was a marvellous Boy; when  
'I was with him, he was in the 15th. year  
'of his Age, in which he spake *Latin* as  
'politely, and as promptly as I did: He  
'asked me, what was the subject of my  
'Book, *de Rerum varietate*, which I dedi-  
'cated to him? I answered, that in the

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first Chapter, I gave the true cause of Comets, which had been long enquired into, but was never found out before. What is it, said he? I said, it was the concourse of the Light of wandring Stars. He answered, How can that be, since the Stars move in different motions? How comes it that the Comets are not soon dissipated, or do not move after them, according to their motions. To this I answered, they do move after them, but much quicker than they, by reason of the different aspect, as we see in Crystal, or when a Rain-bow rebounds from a Wall: for a little change makes a great difference of place. But the King said, How can that be, where there is no subject to receive that Light, as the Wall is the subject for the Rain-bow? To this I answered, That this was as in the Milky way, or where many Candles were lighted, the middle place, where their shining met, was white and clear. From this little rast, it may be imagined what he was. And indeed the ingenuity, and sweetness of his Disposition had raised in all good, and learned Men the greatest expectation of him possible. He began to love the Liberal Arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them: and in him there was such an Attempt of Nature, that not only *England*, but the World hath reason to lament his being so early snatcht away. How truly was it said of such

extra;



‘extraordinary Persons, that their Lives  
‘are short, and seldom do they come to  
‘be old? He gave us an Essay of Vertue,  
‘though he did not live to give a Pat-  
‘tern of it. When the gravity of a King  
‘was needful, he carried himself like an old  
‘Man, and yet he was always affable, and  
‘gentle, as became his Age. He played  
‘on the Lute, he meddled in affairs of State:  
‘and for Bounty, he did in that emulate  
‘his Father; though he, even when he en-  
‘deavoured to be too good, might appear  
‘to have been bad: but there was no  
‘ground of suspecting any such thing in  
‘the Son, whose mind was cultivated by  
‘the study of Philosophy.

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These extraordinary blossoms gave but  
too good reason to fear, that a fruit  
which ripened so fast, could not last long.

In *Scotland* there was a great change in Affairs in  
the Government: the Governor was dealt *Scotland.*  
with, to resign it to the Queen Dowager,  
who returned this Year from *France*, and  
was treated with all that respect that was  
due to her rank, as she pass through *En-*  
*gland*. She brought Letters to the Go-  
vernour, advising him to resign it to her,  
but in such terms, that he saw he must  
either do it, or maintain his power by  
force: he was a soft Man, and was the  
more easily wrought on, because his am-  
bitious Brother was then desperately ill:  
but when he recovered, and found what


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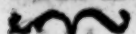
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he had done, he expressed his displeasure at it in very vehement terms. The young Queen of *Scotland's* Uncles proposed a Match for her with the *Dolphin*, which had been long in discourse, and the King of *France* inclined much to it. Constable *Monmorancy* opposed it: He observed how much *Spain* suffered, in having so many Territories at a distance: though those were the best Provinces of *Europe*. So he reckoned the keeping *Scotland*, would cost *France* more than ever it could be worth: A Revolt to *England* would be easie, and the sending Fleets and Armies thither would be a vast charge: He therefore advised the King, rather to marry her to some of the Princes of the Blood, and to send them to *Scotland*, and so by a small Pension, that Kingdom would be preserved in the Interests of *France*. But the Constable was a known Enemy to the House of *Guisse*, and so those wise advices were little considered, and were imputed to the fears he had of so great a strengthening, as this would have given to their Interest at Court. In *Scotland* there were now two Factions: the one was headed by the Archbishop, and all the Clergy were in it, who were jealous of the Queen, as leaning too much to some Lords, who were believed to incline to the Reformation; of whom the Prior of *St. Andrews*, afterwards the Earl of *Murray* was the chief: These offered to serve the Queen in all her designs; in particular, in sending the Matrimonial

monial Crown to *France*, upon their young Queens Marriage with the *Dolphin*, if she would defend them from the Violence of the Clergy in matters of Religion, which being made generally subservient to other Interests in all Courts, this was well entertained by the Queen, though she was otherwise very zealous in her own Religion.

There was a great and unexpected turn this year, in the affairs of *Germany*. The Emperour's Ministers began to entertain some jealousy of *Maurice*, so that the Duke of *Alva* advised the Emperour to call for him, and so to take him off from the head of the Army; and then make him give an account of some suspicious passages, in his treating with other Princes: but the Bishop of *Arras* said, he had both his Secretaries in pay, and he knew by their means all his Negotiations, and relied so on their Intelligence, that he prevailed with the Emperour not to provoke him, by seeming distrustful of him. But *Maurice* knew all this, and deluded his Secretaries, so that he seemed to open to them all his secretest Negotiations; yet he really let them know nothing, but what he was willing should come to the Emperor's ears, and had managed his Treaties so secretly, that they had not the least suspicion of them. At last the Emperour was so possess'd with the Advertisements that were sent him from all parts, that he writ to *Maurice* to come and clear himself;


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himself; and then he refined it higher: for he presently left the Army, and took Post, with one of his Secretaries, and a small Retinue: after a Days riding, he complained of a pain in his side, so that he could not go on, but sent his Secretary with his excuses: This appearance of confidence made the Emperour lay down all his jealousies of him. He had also sent his Ambassadors to *Trent*, and had ordered *Melancthon*, and some Divines to follow them slowly, and as soon as a safe conduct was obtained, to go to *Trent*. The Emperour's Agents had a hard task, between the Legats and the *Lutherans*: they dealt with the Legates to hear the other; but they answered, that it was against the rules of the Church, to treat with professed Hereticks. The *Lutherans* on the other hand, made such high demands, that they had as much to do to moderate them: they prest them not to ask too much at once, and promised, that if they would proceed prudently, the Emperour would concur with them, to pull down the Popes power, and to reform abuses. A Safe-Conduct was demanded, such as had been granted by the Council of *Basil*, that their Divines might have a decisive voice, and the free exercise of their Religion, and that all things might be examined according to the Scriptures. But the Legates abhorred the name of that Council, that had acted so much against the Papal authority, and had granted such



a Conduct, that so they might unite *Germany*, and engage the Empire to joyn with them against the Pope. The Ambassadors from the *Lutherans* were heard in a General Congregation, where they gave the Council a very cold Complément, and desired a Safe-Conduct. The Pope understood, that the Emperor was resolved to set on the *Spanish* Bishops, to bear down the power of the Court of *Rome*, therefore he united himself to *France*, and resolved to break the Council on the first occasion, upon which he ordered the Legates to proceed to settle the doctrine; hoping the Protestants would upon that despair of favour, and go away. But while these things were in agitation, the War of *Germany* broke out, and the Legates suspended the Council for two Years.

After this, I shall have no occasion to speak more of this Council, so I shall offer this remark here, that this Council had been much desired both by Princes and Bishops, in hopes that differences of Religion would have been composed in it, and that the Corruptions of the Court of *Rome* would have been reformed by it, and that had made the Popes very apprehensive of it: but such was the cunning of the Legates, the number of *Italian* Bishops, and the dissensions of the Princes of *Europe*, that it had effects quite contrary to what all sides expected. The breach in Religion was put past reconciling

An Account of the Council of Trent.

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ling, by the positive decisions they made: the abuses of the Court of *Rome* were confirmed by the Provisto's, made in favours of the Priviledges of the Apostolick See: and the World was so cured of their longings for a General Council, that none has been desired since that time. The History of that Council was writ with great exactness and Judgment, by Father *Paul* of *Venice*, while the thing was yet fresh in all Mens memories; and though it discovered the whole secret of transactions there, yet none set himself to write against it, for Forty Years after: of late then *Pallavicini* undertook it, and upon the credit of many Memorials, he in many things contradicts Father *Paul*; but as many of these are likely enough to be forged, so in the main of the History, they both agree so far, that it is manifest, things were not fairly carried, and that all matters were managed by Intreagues and secret practices, in which it will be very hard to discern such a particular conduct of the Holy Ghost, as should induce the World to submit to their authority: and indeed *Pallavicini* was aware of this, and therefore he lays down this for a foundation; 'That there must be a Principality in the Church, supported by great Wealth and Dignity; and many practices are now necessary that are contrary to what were in the Primitive time, which was the Infancy of the Church, and ought not to be a rule to it now, when

when it is grown up to its full state.

*Maurice* declared for the liberty of *Germany*, and took *Ausburg*, and several other Towns. The King of *France* fell also in, upon the Empire, with a great Force, and by surprise made himself Master of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, and thought to have got *Strasburg*. *Maurice* sent his demands to the Emperour for the Landgrave's liberty, and for restoring the freedom of the Empire: and the Emperour being slow in making answer, he marched on to *Inspruck*, where he surprised a Post, and was within two Miles of him, before he was aware of it, so that the Emperor was forced to fly away by Torch-light: and from thence went to *Italy*. Thus that very Army and Prince, that had been chiefly Instrumental in the ruine of the Empire, did now again assert its freedom; and all the Emperor's great design on *Germany* was now so blasted, that he could never after this put any life in it: he was forced to discharge his Prisoners, and to call in the Proscriptions, and after some Treaty, at last the Edict of *Passaw* was made, by which the free exercise of the Protestant Religion was granted to the Princes and Towns: and so did that storm, which had almost overwhelmed the Princes of that Perswasion end, without any other considerable effect, besides the Translation of the Electoral dignity from *John* to *Maurice*. The Emperour's misfortunes encreased on him, for against all reason

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1552.  
The Emperour's designs are blasted.

Book II

1552.

reason he besieged *Metz* in *December*, but after he had ruined his Army in it, he was forced to raise the Siege. Upon that he retired into *Flanders*, in such discontent, that for some time he would admit none to come to him. Here it was believed, he first formed that design, which some years after he put in execution, of forsaking the World, and exchanging the Pomp of a Court, with the retirement of a Monastery. This strange and unlookt for turn in his affairs, gave a great demonstration of an over-ruling Providence, that governs all humane affairs, and of that particular care that God had of the Reformation, in recovering it, when it seemed to be gone, without all hope, in *Germany*.

1553.

In the beginning of this Year, there was a regulation made of the Privy Council. Several Committees had proper work assigned them, and directions given them for their conduct; of which there is an account extant, corrected with King *Edward's* hand. A new Parliament was called, and sat down the first of *March*; a motion was made for a Subsidy of two tenths, and two fifteenths to be paid in two years: at the passing of the Bill there was a great debate about it in the House of Commons, which seems to have been concerning the Preamble, for it contained a high accusation of the Duke of *Somerset's* administration, and was set on by the Duke of *Northumberland's* Party, to let the King



King see how well pleased the Representative of the Nation was with his fall.

Book II.

The Sons of the Nobility and Gentry had ordinarily Prebends given them, under this pretence, that they intended to follow their studies, and make themselves capable of entering into Orders: and this was like to become a great prejudice to the Clergy, when so many of the dignities of the Church were in Lay-hands. Upon this the Bishops procured a Bill to be past in the House of Lords, that none might hold these, that was not either Priest or Deacon: but at the third reading, the Commons threw it out.

1553.  
A Bill proposed that Laymen should not hold Church-dignities.

Another Bill past for suppressing the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and erecting two new Sees, the one at *Durham*, and the other at *Newcastle*; the former was to have 2000. and the latter 1000. Marks Revenue; there was also a Dean and a Chapter to be endowed at *Newcastle*. *Ridley* was designed to be made Bishop of *Durham*. But though the secular Jurisdiction of that See was given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, yet the King's death stopt the further progress of this affair. *Tonstall* was deprived, as *Heath* and *Day* were, by a Court of Lay-delegates, upon the Informations that had been brought against him of Misprision of Treason, and was kept in the *Tower* till Queen *Mary* set him at liberty. The King granted a General Pardon

An Act suppressing the Bishop of *Durham*.

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Pardon, in which the Commons moved the Lords, that some words might be put, though that is not usual to be done; for Acts of Pardon, are commonly past without any Changes made in them: After the passing these Acts, the Parliament was dissolved on the last of *March*. For it seems either the Duke of *Northumberland* was not pleased with the proceedings in the House of Commons, or he was resolved to call frequent Parliaments, and not continue the same, as the Duke of *Somerset* had done.

Another  
Visitation.

Visitors were sent after this to examine what Plate was in every Church, and to leave them one or two Chalices of Silver, with Linnen, for the Communion-Table, and for Surplices, and to bring in all other things of value to the Treasurer of the King's Household, and to sell the rest, and give it to the Poor. This was a new rising of Churches, by which it seemed some resolved not to cease, till they had brought them to a Primitive Poverty, as well as the Reformers intended to bring them to a Primitive purity. The King set his hand to these Instructions, from which some have inferred, that he was ill principled in himself, when at such an Age, he joyned his Authority to such proceedings. But he was now so ill, that it is probable, he set his hand to every thing, that the Council sent him, without examining anxiously what it might import.

Skip,

*Skip*, Bishop of *Hereford*, dying, *Harley* succeeded him, and was the last that was promoted by the Kings Letters Patents; as *Barlow* was the first, being removed by them, from *St. Davids* to *Bath* and *Wells*. The form of the Patent was,

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Bishops made by the Kings Patent.

That the King appointed such a one to be Bishop during his Natural life, or as long as he behaved himself well: and gave him power to ordain or deprive Ministers, to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and perform all the other parts of the Episcopal Function, that by the Word of God were committed to Bishops, and this they were to do in the King's Name, and by his Authority. *Ferrar* was put in *St. Davids*, upon *Barlow's* removal: he was an indiscreet Man, and drew upon himself the dislike of his Prebendaries, and many complaints were made of him, which, if true, discovered great weakness in him: at last he was sued in a *Premunire*, for acting in his own name, and not in the King's, in his Courts; and was put in Prison, where he continued, till *Morgan*, that was his chief Accuser, being put in his place by Queen *Mary*, condemned him to the Fire; which turned all former Censures, that he had given occasion for, by his simplicity, into esteem and compassion. By these Patents, the Episcopal Power was still declared to flow from Christ; they were only presentations to Bishopricks, such as other Patrons gave to inferior Benefices; and

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such as Christian Princes in *France*, and other Kingdoms gave in elder times, for Bishopricks. Their Courts were ordered to be held in the King's Name; but all this was repealed by Queen *Mary*: and when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, instead of reviving this, she revived that made in the 25 *Hen. 8.* by which Bishops were authorised to hold their Courts, as they had done formerly: and though Queen *Mary's* repeal of the Statute of this King, was afterwards taken away, so that this Act seemed thereby to be again in force; yet Queen *Elizabeth's* reviving that made by her Father, was understood to be, in effect, a Repeal of it: so that in King *James's* time, when some scruples were started about it, the Judges did not think it necessary to make an Explanatory Act, to clear the matter, for the thing did not seem to admit of any debate. A new and fuller Catechism was this Year composed by *Poinet*, and was published with the Kings approbation.

Affairs in  
Germany.

The state of affairs beyond Sea, was now quite turned, so that the Progress the *French* had made, set the *English* Council on mediating a Peace. The Emperour represented to them the danger the *Netherlands* were in, since the *French* were Masters of *Metz*, and so could in a great measure divide them from the assistance, that they might receive from the Empire; therefore he desired that according



According to the Ancient Leagues, between England, and the House of *Burgundy*, they would now engage against the *French*. The Council sent over Ambassadors, both to the Emperour, and the *French* King, to mediate. The Emperour was then indisposed, but his Ministers complained much, that the *French* had broken with them perfidiously, when they were making solemn protestations, that they intended to observe the Peace religiously. The *Germans* proposed a League between the Emperour, the King of the *Romans*, the King of *England*, and the Princes of the Empire. The Emperour moved that the *Netherlands* might be comprehended within the perpetual League of the Empire; but the Princes refused that, since those Provinces were like to be the perpetual Seat of War, when ever it should break out between *France* and *Spain*; unless they might have reciprocal advantages, for exposing themselves to so much danger and charge. The *French* made extravagant Propositions, by which it appeared, that their King had a mind to carry on the War. They askt the restitution of *Millan*, *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Navarre*, and the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*; and that *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun* should continue under the Protection of *France*. The *English* would not receive these as Mediators, but took them only as a Paper of News, and so ordered their Ambassadors to communicate them to the Emperour. But the King's death broke off this Negotiation.

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1553.  
The Kings  
sickness.

He had contracted great Colds by Violent Exercises, which in *January* settled in a deep Cough: and all Medicines proved ineffectual. There was a Suspicion taken up, and spread over all *Europe*, that he was poisoned: but no certain grounds appear, for justifying that. During his sickness, *Ridley* preached before him, and among other things, run out much on works of Charity, and the duty of Men of high condition, to be Eminent in good works. The King was much touched with this; so, after Sermon, he sent for the Bishop, and treated him with such respect, that he made him sit down, and be covered: then he told him, what Impression his Exhortation had made on him, and therefore he desired to be directed by him, how to do his duty in that matter. *Ridley* took a little time to consider of it, and after some consultation with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, he brought the King a Scheme of several Foundations, one for the sick and wounded, another for such as were wilfully idle, or were mad, and a third for Orphans: so he endowed *St. Bartholomew's Hospital* for the first, *Bridewell* for the second, and *Christ's Church* near *Newgate* for the third; and he enlarged the Grant he made the former year, for *St. Thomas's Hospital* in *Southwark*. The Statutes and Warrants relating to these, were not finished before the 26. of *June*, though he gave order to make all the hast that was possible: and

and when he set his hand to them, he blest God that had prolonged his life, till he finished his designs concerning them. These Houses have, by the good Government, and great Charities of the City of London, continued to be so useful, and grown to be so well-endowed, that now they may be well reckoned among the Noblest in Europe.

The King bore his sickness with great submission to the will of God; and seemed concerned in nothing so much, as the state that Religion, and the Church would be in, after his death. The Duke of Suffolk had only three Daughters, the eldest of these was now married to Lord Guilford Dudley; the second to the Earl of Pembroke's eldest Son; and the third, that was crooked, to one Keys. The Duke of Northumberland, for strengthening his Family, married also his own two Daughters, the one to Sir Henry Sidney, and the other to the Earl of Huntington's eldest Son. He grew to be much hated by the People, and the jealousy of the King's being poisoned, was fastened on him. But he regarded these things little, and resolved to improve the fears the King was in concerning Religion, to the advantage of Lady Jane. The King was easily perswaded to order the Judges, and his Learned Council to put some Articles, which he had signed, for the succession of the Crown, in the common form of Law. They an-

The Parents for the succession to the Crown.

Book II.

swered, that the Succession being settled by Act of Parliament, could not be taken away, except by Parliament: yet the King required them to do what he commanded them. But next time they came to the Council, they declared, that it was made Treason to change the Succession by an Act past in this Reign, so they could not meddle with it. *Mountague* was chief Justice, and spake in the name of the rest. *Northumberland* fell out in a great passion against him, calling him *Traitor*, for refusing to obey the King's commands: for that is always the language of an Arbitrary Minister, when he acts against Law. But the Judges were not shaken by his threatnings; so they were again brought before the King, who sharply rebuked them for their delays, but they said, all that they could do, would be of no force, without a Parliament, yet they were required to do it, in the best manner they could. At last *Mountague* desired they might have a Pardon for what they were to do, & that being granted, all the Judges, except *Gosnold* and *Hales*, agreed to the Patent, & deliver'd their Opinions, that the Lord Chancellor might put the Seal to it, and that then it would be good in Law; yet the former of these two was at last wrought on, so *Hales* was the only Man that stood out to the last: who, though he was a zealous Protestant, yet would not give his Opinion against his Conscience, upon any consideration whatsoever. The Privy Council

lours



hours were next required to set their hand to it: *Cecyl*, in a Relation he writ of this transaction, says, that hearing some of the Judges declare so positively, that it was against Law, he refused to set his hand to it, as a Privy Councillour, but signed it only as a Witness to the King's subscription. *Cranmer* stood out long, he came not to Council when it was past there, and refused to consent to it, when he was prest to it; for he said, he would never have a hand in disinheriting his late Master's Daughters. The young dying King was at last set on him, and by his importunity prevailed with him to do it, and so the Seal was put to the Patents. The King's distemper continued to encrease, so that the Physicians despaired of his Recovery. A confident Woman undertook his Cure, and he was put in her hands, but she left him worse than she found him; and this heightned the jealousy of the Duke of *Northumberland*, that had introduced her, and put the Physicians away. At last, to Crown his designs, he got the King to write to his Sisters, to come and divert him in his sickness: and the matter of the Exclusion had been carried so secretly, that they apprehending no danger, had begun their Journey.

In the 6th. of *July*, the King felt death approaching, and prepared himself for it, in a most devout manner: He was often heard offering up Prayers and Ejaculations

The Kings death and Character.


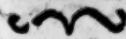
Book II. to God: Particularly a few Moments before he died, he prayed earnestly that God would take him out of this wretched life, and committed his Spirit to him, he interceded very fervently for his Subjects, that God would preserve *England* from Popery, and maintain his true Religion among them; soon after that, he breathed out his Innocent Soul, being in Sir *Henry Sidney's* arms. Endeavours were used to conceal his death, for some days, on design to draw his Sisters into the snare, before they should be aware of it, but that could not be done.

Thus died *Edward* the VI. in the sixteenth Year of his Age. He was counted the wonder of that time: he was not only Learned in the Tongues, and the Liberal Sciences, but knew well the state of his Kingdom. He kept a Table-Book, in which he had writ the Characters of all the eminent Men of the Nation; he studied Fortification, and understood the Mint well: he knew the Harbours in all his Dominions, with the depth of Water, and way of coming into them. He understood foreign affairs so well, that the Ambassadors that were sent into *England*, published very extraordinary things of him, in all the Courts of *Europe*. He had great quickness of apprehension, but being distrustful of his Memory, he took Notes of every thing he heard, that was considerable, in *Greek* Characters; that those about him might not understand what he writ, which he afterwards Copied out fair in the Journal that he kept.

His

His Virtues were wonderful, when he was made believe, that his Unkle was guilty of conspiring the death of the other Counsellours, he upon that abandoned him. *Barnaby Fitzpatrick* was his Favourite, and when he sent him to travel, he writ oft to him, to keep good Company, to avoid excess and Luxury, and to improve himself in those things, that might render him capable of Employment, at his return. He was afterwards made Lord of *Upper Ossory* in *Ireland*, by Queen *Elizabeth*, and did answer the hopes that this excellent King had of him. He was very merciful in his nature, which appeared in his unwillingness to sign the Warrant, for burning the Maid of *Kent*. He took great care to have his debts well paid, reckoning that a Prince who breaks his Faith, and loses his Credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual distrust, and extreme contempt. He took special care of the Petitions, that were given him by poor and oppressed People. But his great zeal for Religion crowned all the rest. It was not only an angry heat about it that acted him, but it was a true tenderness of conscience, founded on the love of *God*, & his Neighbors.

These extraordinary qualities set off with great sweetness and affability, made him be universally beloved by all his People. Some called him their *Josias*, others *Edward the Saint*, and others called him the *Phoenix* that rise out of his Mothers ashes; and all People concluded, that the sins of *England* must have

 have been very great, since they provoked  
 Book II. God to deprive the Nation of so signal a  
 blessing, as the rest of his Reign would  
 1553. have, by all appearance, proved. Ridley,  
 and the other good Men of that time, made  
 great lamentations of the Vices, that were  
 grown then so common, that Men had past  
 all shame in them. Luxury, Oppression, and  
 a hatred of Religion had over-run the high-  
 er rank of People, who gave a countenance  
 to the Reformation, meerly to rob the  
 Church, but by that and their other practi-  
 ces, were become a great scandal to so good  
 a work. The inferiour sort were so much  
 in the power of the Priests, who were still,  
 notwithstanding their outward Compliance,  
 Papists in heart, and were so much offended  
 at the spoil they saw made of all good en-  
 dowments, without putting other and more  
 useful ones in their room, that they who  
 understood little of Religion, laboured un-  
 der great prejudices against every thing that  
 was advanced by such tools. And these  
 things, as they provoked God highly, so  
 they disposed the People much to that sad  
 Catastrophe, which is to be the subject of  
 the next Book.



# BOOK III.

## THE LIFE and REIGN OF Queen MARY.

**B**Y King *Edward's* death, the *Qu. Mary* succeeds.  
Crown devolved, according  
to Law, on his Eldest Sister  
*Mary*, who was within half  
a days Journey to the Court,  
when she had notice given  
her by the Earl of *Arundel*, of her Brother's  
death, and of the Patent for Lady *Jane's*  
succession, and this prevented her falling in-  
to the Trap, that was laid for her. Upon  
that she retired to *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*,  
both to be near the Sea, that she might  
escape

Book III

1553.

escape to *Flanders*, in case of a misfortune; and because the slaughter that was made of *Kets* People, by *Northumberland*, begat him the hatred of the People in that Neighbourhood. Before she got thither, she wrote on the 9th. of *July*, to the Council, and let them know she understood, that her Brother was dead, by which she succeeded to the Crown, but wondred that she heard not from them; she knew well what Consultations they had engaged in, but she would pardon all that was done, to such as would return to their duty, and proclaim her Title to the Crown. By this it was found, that the Kings death could be no longer kept secret; so some of the Privy Council went to Lady *Jane*, and acknowledged her their *Queen*. The news of the King's death afflicted her much, and her being raised to the Throne, rather encreased, than lessened her trouble. She was a very extraordinary Person, both for Body and Mind. She had learned both the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, to great perfection, and delighted much in study. She read *Plato* in *Greek*, and drunk in the Precepts of true Philosophy so early, that as she was not tainted with the levities, nor to say Vices of those of her Age and condition, so she seemed to have attained to the practice of the highest notions of Philosophy: for in those sudden turns of her condition, as she was not exalted with the prospect of a Crown, so she was as little cast down, when her Palace was made her Prison.

The

The only passion she shewed, was, that of the Noblest kind, in the concern she expressed for her Father and Husband, who fell with her, and seemingly on her account, though really *Northumberland's* ambition, and her Father's weakness ruined her. She rejected the offer of the Crown, when it was first made her; she said, she knew, that of right it belonged to the late King's Sisters, and so she could not with a good Conscience assume it; but it was told her, that both the Judges and Privy Councillours had declared, that it fell to her according to Law. This, joyned with the Importunities of her Husband, who had more of his Father's Temper, than of her Philosophy in him, made her submit to it. Upon this XXI. Privy Councillours set their hands to a Letter to Queen *Mary*, letting her know that Queen *Jane* was now their Sovereign, and that the Marriage between her Father and Mother was null, so she could not succeed to the Crown: and therefore they required her to lay down her Pretensions, and to submit to the settlement now made: and if she gave a ready obedience to these Commands, they promised her much favour.

The day after this they proclaimed *Jane*. But Lady *Jane Gray* is proclaimed. In it they set forth, 'That the late King had by Patent excluded his Sisters, that both were illegitimated by sentences past in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and confirmed in Parliament, and at best they were only his Sisters by the half blood, and so  
'not

Book III

1553.

not inheritable by the Law of *England*. There was also cause to fear, that they might marry strangers, and change the Laws, and subject the Nation to the Tyranny of the See of *Rome*. Next to them, the Crown fell to the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*; and it was provided, that if she should have no Sons, when the King died, the Crown should devolve on her Daughter, who was born and married in the Kingdom: Upon which they asserted her right, and she promised to maintain the true Religion, and the Laws of the Land. This was not received with the shouts ordinary on such occasions. A *Vintners* Boy expressed some scorn, when he heard it, for which he was next day set on a Pillory, and his Ears were nailed to it, to strike terror in the rest.

Censures  
past upon  
that.

Many descanted variously on this Proclamation. Those who thought that the King had his power immediately from God, said, that then it must descend in the way of Inheritance, and since the King's two Sisters were both under sentences of illegitimation, they said the next Heir in blood must succeed, and that was the young Queen of *Scotland*; but she being of the Church of *Rome*, claimed nothing upon the sentence against Queen *Mary*, esteeming it unlawful, and null: yet afterwards she made her claim against Queen *Elizabeth*. Others said, that though a Prince were named immediately by God, yet upon great reasons he might alter the Success.



Succession from its natural course: for so *David* preferred *Solomon* to *Adonijah*. In *Book III*  
*England*, the Kings claimed the Crown by a long Prescription, confirmed by many Laws, and not from a divine designation; and therefore they inferred, that the Act of Parliament for the Succession ought to take place, and that by vertue of it, the two Sisters ought to succeed: and it was said, that as the King could limit the Prerogative, so he could likewise limit the succession. It was also said, that *Charles Brandon's* Issue by the *French Queen*, was unlawful, because he was then married to one *Mortimer*; yet this was not declared in any Court, and so could not take place. Others said, if the Right of blood could not be cut off, why was the *Scotch Queen* cut off? and her being born out of the Kingdom, could not exclude her, as an *Alien*, for though that held in other cases, yet it was only a Provision of Law, which could not take away a Divine right, and by special Law the King's Children were excepted. It was also urged, that the Dutchess of *Suffolk* ought to be preferred to her Daughter, who could only claim by her Right: and though *Maud* the Empress, and *Margaret Countess of Richmond* had not claimed the Crown, but were satisfied that their Sons, two *Henries*, the second and seventh, should reign in their right, yet it was never heard that a Mother should quit her right to a Daughter: that of the half blood was said to be

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Many turn  
to Queen  
Mary.

be only a rule in Law for private Families, and that it did not extend to the Crown. The power of limiting the succession by Patent or Testament, was said to be only a Personal trust lodged in King *Henry* the Eighth, and that it did not descend to his Heirs, so that King *Edward's* Patents were thought to be of no force.

The severity against the *Vintners* Boy in the beginning of a Reign founded on so doubtful a Title, was thought a great error in Policy: and it seemed to be a well grounded Maxime, that all Governments ought to begin with acts of Clemency, and affect the love rather than the fear of the People. *Northumberland's* proceeding against the Duke of *Somerset*, upon so foul a Conspiracy, and the suspicions that lay on him, as the Author of the late Kings untimely death, begat a great aversion in the People to him: and that disposed them to set up Queen *Mary*. She gathered all in the neighbouring Counties about her. The Men of *Suffolk* were generally for the Reformation, yet a great Body of them came to her, and asked her, if she would promise not to alter the Religion set up in King *Edward's* days, she assured them she would make no changes; but should be content with the private Exercise of her own Religion. Upon that they all vowed that they would live and dye with her. The Earl of *Suffex*, and several others raised Forces for her, and proclaimed her Queen. When the Council heard this, they sent  
tho

the Earl of *Huntington's* Brother to raise Men in *Buckinghamshire*, and meet the Forces that should be sent from *London* at *Newmarket*.

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The Duke of *Northumberland* was ordered to Command the Army. He was now much distracted in his thoughts. It was of equal Importance to keep *London*, and the Privy Councillours steady, and to conduct the Army well: A misfortune in either of these was like to be fatal to him. So he could not resolve what to do; there was not a Man of spirit that was firm to him, to be left behind, and yet it was most necessary once to dissipate the Force, that was daily growing about Queen *Mary*. The Lady *Jane* and the Council were removed to the *Tower*, not only for state, but for security; for here the Council were upon the matter Prisoners. He could do no more, but lay a strict charge on the Council, to be firm to Lady *Jane's* Interests, and so he marched out of *London* with 2000. Horse, and 6000. Foot, on the 14th. of *July*: but no acclamations or wishes of success were to be heard, as he past through the Streets. The Council gave the Emperor notice of the Lady *Jane's* succession, and complained of the disturbance that was raised by Queen *Mary*, and that his Ambassadour had officiously medled in their affairs. But the Emperour would not receive their Letters. *Ridley* was appointed to preach up Queen *Jane's* Title, and to animate

*Northumberland* marches against her.

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the People against Queen *Mary*, which he too rashly obeyed. But Queen *Mary's* Party encreased every day. *Hastings* went over to her with 4000. Men out of *Buckinghamshire*, and she was proclaimed Queen in many places. And now did the Privy Council begin to see their danger, and to think how to get out of it. The Earl of *Arundel* hated *Northumberland*. The Marquess of *Winchester* was dextrous in shifting sides for his advantage. The Earl of *Pembroke's* Son had married the Lady *Jane's* Sister, which made him think it necessary to redeem the danger he was in, by a speedy turn. To these many others were joyned. They pretended it was necessary to give an Audience to the foreign Ambassadors, who would not have it in the *Tower*. And the Earl of *Pembroke's* House was pitched upon, he being least suspected. They also said it was necessary to treat with the Lord *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, for sending more Forces to *Northumberland*, concerning which he had writ very earnestly.

The Council declares for her.

When they got out, they resolved to declare for Queen *Mary*; and rid themselves of *Northumberland's* uneasie Yoke, which they knew they must bear, if he were victorious. They sent for the Lord *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, and easily perswaded them to concur with them, and so they went immediately to *Cheapside*, and proclaimed the Queen on the 19th. of *July*; and from thence they went to *St. Paul's*, where *Te Deum* was sung. They sent next



to the *Tower*, requiring the Duke of *Suffolk* to quit the Government of that place, and the Lady *Jane* to lay down the Title of *Queen*; she submitted with as much greatness of mind, as her Father shewed of abjectness. They sent also Orders to *Northumberland* to dismiss his Forces, and to obey the *Queen*; and the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget* were sent to carry these welcome tidings to her. When *Northumberland* heard of the Turn that was in *London*, without staying for Orders he discharged his Forces, and went to the Market-place at *Cambridge*, where he was at that time, and proclaimed the *Queen*. The Earl of *Arundel* was sent to apprehend him, and when he was brought to him, he fell at his Feet to beg his favour: for a mind, that has no ballance in it self, turns insolent or abject, out of measure, with the various changes of fortune. He, and three of his Sons, and Sir *Tho. Palmer*, (that was his wicked Instrument against the Duke of *Somerset*) were all sent to the *Tower*. Now all People went to implore the *Queen's* favour, and *Ridley* among the rest, but he was sent to the *Tower*: for she was both offended with him for his Sermon, and resolved to put *Bonner* again in the See of *London*. Some of the Judges, and several Noblemen were also sent thither, among the rest the Duke of *Suffolk*, but three days after he was set at liberty. He was a weak Man, and could do little harm, so he was pitched on as

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1553.  
She comes  
to London.

the first Instance, towards whom the *Queen* should express her Clemency.

She came to *London* on the 3<sup>d</sup>. of *August*, and on the way was met by her Sister, *Lady Elizabeth*, with a thousand Horse, whom she had raised to come to the *Queen's* assistance. When she came to the *Tower*, she discharged the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Dutchesse of *Somerset*, and *Gardiner*, of whose Commitment mention has been formerly made; as also the Lord *Courtney*, Son to the Marquess of *Exeter*, who had been kept there ever since his Fathers Attainder, whom she made Earl of *Devonshire*. And thus was she now peaceably settled on the Throne; notwithstanding that great Combination against her, which had not been so easily broken, if the Head of it had not been a Man so Universally distastful.

Her former life:

She was a Lady of great Vertues, she was strict in her Religion to superstition; her Temper was much corrupted by Melancholy; and the many cross accidents of her life increased this to a great degree. She adhered so resolutely to her Mothers Interests, that it was believed her Father once intended to have taken her Life: upon which her Mother wrote a very devout Letter to her, charging her to trust in God, and keep her self pure, and to obey the King in all things, except in matters of Religion: She sent her two *Latine* Books for her entertainment, *Saint Jerome's* Epistles, and a Book of the Life

of

of *Christ*, which was perhaps the famous Book of *Thomas à Kempis*. The Kings displeasure at her was such, that neither the Duke of *Norfolk*, nor *Gardiner*, durst venture to intercede for her. *Cranmer* was the only Man that hazarded on it, and did it so effectually, that he prevailed with him about it. But after her Mothers death, she hearkned to other Counsels, so that upon *Anne Boleyn's* fall, she made a full submission to him, as was mentioned before. She did also in many Letters, which she writ both to her Father, and to *Cromwell*, 'Protest great sorrow for her former 'stubornness, and declared that she put 'her Soul in his hand, and that her Conscience should be always directed by him; 'and being asked what her Opinion was 'concerning Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and 'Reliques; she answered, that she had no 'Opinion, but such as she received from 'the King, who had her whole heart in his 'keeping: and might imprint upon it, in 'these, and in all other matters, whatever 'his inestimable Vertue, high Wisdom, 'and excellent Learning should think convenient for her. So perfectly had she learned the stile, that she knew was most acceptable to her Father. After that, she was in all points obedient to him, and during her Brothers Reign, she set up on that pretence, that she would adhere to that way of Religion, that was settled by her Father.

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The Coun-  
sels then  
laid down.


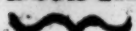
Two different Schemes were now set before her; *Gardiner*, and all that had complied in the former times, moved, that at first she should bring things back to the state in which they were, when her Father died: and afterwards by easie and slow steps she might again return to the obedience to the See of *Rome*. But she her self was more inclined to return to that immediately; she thought she could not be legitimated any other way, and so was like to proceed too quick. *Gardiner* finding that Political Maximes made no great Impression on her, and that he was lookt on by her as a crafty temporising Man, addressed himself to the Emperour, who understood Government and Mankind better: and undertook, that if he might have the Seals, he would manage matters so, that in a little time he should bring all things about to her mind: and that there was no danger, but in her precipitating things, and being so much governed by *Italian* Counsels: for he understood, that she had sent for Cardinal *Pool*. The People had a great Aversion to the Papal authority, and the Nobility and Gentry were apprehensive of losing the *Abbey* Lands; therefore it was necessary to remove these prejudices by degrees. He also assured the Emperour, that he would serve all his Interests zealously, and shewed him how necessary it was to stop Cardinal *Pool*, who stood Attainted by Law: In this he was the more earnest, because he



he knew *Pool* hated him. The Emperour upon this, writ so effectually to the Queen, to depend on *Gardiner's* Counsels, that on the 13th. of *August*, he was made Lord Chancellour, and the conduct of affairs was put in his hands. The Duke of *Norfolk*, being now at liberty, pretended that he was never truly attainted; and that it was no legal Act, that had past against him, and by this he recovered his Estate; all the Grants that had been made out of it, being declared void at Common Law.

*Northumberland's Trial,*

He was made Lord Steward for the Trial of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and his Son the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Marquess of *Northampton*. All that they pleaded in their own defence, lay in two points; the one was, whether any thing that was acted by Order of Council, and the authority of the Great Seal, could be Treason? The other was, whether those that were as guilty as they were, could sit and judge them? The Judges answered, that the Great Seal, or Privy Council of one, that was not lawful *Queen*, could give no Authority, nor Indemnity: and that other Peers, if they were not convicted by Record, might judge them. These Points being determined against them, they pleaded *Guilty*, and submitted to the Queens Mercy: So Sentence past upon them: and the day after that, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Tho. Palmer*, and some others, were tried and condemned: But of


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 1553.  
 And Execution.

all these, it was resolved, that only *Nor-*  
*thumberland, Gates and Palmer* should suffer.

*Heath* was appointed to attend on *Nor-*  
*thumberland*, and to prepare him for death. He then professed he had been always of the old Religion in his heart, and had complied against his Conscience in the former times, but whether that was true, or whether it was done in hopes of life, as it cannot be certainly known, so it shews, he had little regard to Religion, either in his life, or at his death. But he was a Man of such a temper, that it was resolved to put him out of a capacity of revenging himself on his Enemies. On the 22. of *August*, he and the other two were beheaded. There past some expostulation between *Gates* and him: each of them accusing the other as the Author of their ruine. But they were seemingly reconciled; and professed they forgave one another. He made a long Speech, confessing his former ill life, and the Justice of the Sentence against him; 'He exhorted the People to stand to the Religion of their Ancestors, to reject all Novelties, and to drive the Preachers of them out of the Nation, and declared he had temporised against his Conscience, and that he was always of the Religion of his Fore-fathers. He was an extraordinary Man, till he was raised very high: but that transported him out of measure, and he was so strangely changed in the last

last passages of his life, that it encreased the Jealousies that were raised of his having hastned King *Edward's* death : and that the horrors of that Guilt did so haunt him, that both the Judgment and Courage he had expressed in the former parts of his life, seemed now to have left him. *Palmer* was little pitied, for he was believed the betrayer of his former Master, the Duke of *Somerset*, and was upon that service taken into *Northumberland's* confidence.

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There was no strict enquiry made into King *Edward's* death: all the honour done his Memory, was, that they allowed him Funeral Rites. On the 8th. of *August*, he was buried at *Westminster*, and the Queen had an Exequie, and Masses for him at the *Tower*. *Day* was appointed to preach the Sermon : in it he praised the King, but inveighed severely against the administration of affairs under him. It had been resolved to bury him according to the old Forms, but *Cranmer* opposed that, and prevailed that he should be buried according to the form then settled by Law: and he himself did officiate, and ended the solemnity with a Communion, all which it may be supposed he did with a very lively sorrow, having both loved the King beyond expression, and looking on his Funeral, as the Burial of the Reformation, and as a step to his own.

King Edward's  
Funeral

On

## Book III

1553.

A Tumult  
at S. Pauls.

On the 22. of *August*, the Queen declared in Council, 'That though she was  
'fixed in her own Religion, yet she would  
'not Compel others to it: but would leave  
'that to the motions of God's Spirit, and  
'the labours of good Preachers. The day  
after that, *Bonner* went to *Saint Pauls*;  
and *Bourn*, that was his Chaplain, preached;  
he extolled *Bonner* much, and inveighed  
against the sufferings he was put to. Up-  
on this a Tumult was raised, for the Peo-  
ple could not hear reflections made on  
*King Edward*: some flung stones at him,  
and one threw a Dagger at the Pulpit,  
with such force, that it stuck fast in the  
wood. *Rogers* and *Bradford* were present,  
who were in great esteem with the Peo-  
ple: so they stood up and quieted them,  
and conveyed *Bourn* safe home. This was  
a very welcome Accident to the Papists,  
and gave them a colour to prohibit prea-  
ching, by a Publick Inhibition in the  
Queen's Name: in which she declared,  
'That her Religion was the same that  
'it had been from her Infancy, but that  
'she would compel none of her Subjects  
'in matters of Religion; till publick Or-  
'der should be taken in it by common As-  
'sent. She required her People to live  
'quietly, not to use the terms of *Papist*,  
'or *Heretick*, or other reproachful speech-  
'es, and that none should Preach without  
'Licence: she also charged them not to pu-  
'nish any on the account of the late Re-  
'bellion,



'bellion, but as they should be authorised  
 'by her. She would be sorry to be dri-  
 'ven to execute the severity of the Law;  
 'but was resolved not to suffer Rebellious  
 'doings to go unpunished. This gave great  
 occasion to censure, and was thought a  
 Declaration, not for her Fathers Religion,  
 but for Popery: since it was that which  
 she professed from her Infancy. It was  
 also observed, that she limited her promise  
 of not compelling others, till Publick Or-  
 der should be taken in it: the meaning  
 of which was, till a Parliament could be  
 brought to concur with her. The restraint  
 upon Preaching, without Licence, was ju-  
 stified from what had been done in King  
*Edward's* time; though then, at first, all  
 might preach in their own Churches with-  
 out it; It was only necessary, if they prea-  
 ched any where else: Bishops had also the  
 power of Licensing in their Dioceses: and  
 the total restraint that followed afterwards,  
 lasted but a short while. But now all the  
 Pulpits were put under an Interdict, till  
 the Preachers should obtain a Licence from  
*Gardiner*: and that he resolved to grant  
 to none, but those that would Preach as  
 he should direct them. The Queen's threat-  
 ning to proceed against such as were  
 guilty of the late Rebellion, struck a ge-  
 neral terrour in the City of *London*; for  
 the greatest part had been in some mea-  
 sure concerned in it.

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Severe  
proceed-  
ings a-  
gainst the  
men of  
Suffolk  
and o-  
thers.

In *Suffolk* the people thought their Ser-  
vices, and the Queens promises gave them  
a Title to own their Religion more avow-  
edly: But orders were sent to the Bishop  
of *Norwich* to execute the Queens Injuncti-  
ons, and to see that none should preach  
that had not obtained a Licence. Upon  
this, some of those that had merited most,  
came and put the Queen in mind of her  
Promise: But she sent them home with a  
cold Answer; and told them, they must  
learn to obey her, and not pretend to go-  
vern her: And one that had spoken more  
confidently than the rest, was set in a Pillo-  
ry for it three days, as having said words  
that tended to defame the Queen. This  
was a sad Omen of a severe Govern-  
ment, in which the claiming of Promises  
went for a crime. *Bradford* and *Rogers*  
were also seized on; and it was pretended,  
that the authority they shewed in quieting  
the Tumult, was a sign that they had raised  
it. *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstal*, *Heath* and *Day*,  
were restored to their Bishopricks; they  
had all Appealed to the King before Sen-  
tence had past against them; so Commissi-  
ons were given to some Civilians to exa-  
mine the grounds of these Appeals, and  
they made report that they were good,  
and so that the Sentences against them  
were null. *Gardiner* had authority given  
him to grant Priests Licences to preach in  
any Church, as he should appoint: By this  
the Reformed were not only silenced, but  
their Churches and Pulpits were cast open  
to

to such as *Gardiner* pleased to send among them. They differed in their opinions how far they were bound to obey this Prohibition: Some thought they might forbear publick Preaching, when they were so required: But they made that up by private Conferences and Instructions: Others thought that if this had been only a particular hardship upon a few, the regard to Peace and Order should have obliged them to submit to it; but since it was general, and done on design to extinguish the light of the Gospel, that they ought to go on, and preach at their peril; of this last sort several were put in Prison for their disobedience, and among others *Hooper* and *Coverdale*.

The people that loved the old Superstition, began now to set up Images, and the old Rites again in many places: And though this was plainly against Law, yet the Government encouraged it all they could. Judge *Hales* thought his refusing to concur with the rest in excluding the Queen, gave him a more than ordinary priviledge. So when he went the Circuit, he gave the charge in *Kent*, requiring the Justices to see to the execution of King *Edward's* Laws, that continued still in force. But upon his return he was committed for this, and removed from Prison to Prison; which, with the threatnings that were made him, terrified him so much, that he cut his Throat, but not mortally: As he recovered he made his submission, and obtained his liberty. Yet the disorder he

Particular:  
ly against  
Judge  
*Hales*.

was

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was in, never left him till he drowned himself. This shewed that former merit was not so much considered as a readiness to comply in matters of Religion; Judge *Bromley*, though he made no difficulty in declaring his opinion for the Queens excommunication, yet since he profest himself a Papist, was made Lord Chief Justice: and *Montague*, who had proceeded in it with great aversion, yet because he was for the Reformation, was put in Prison, and severely Fined; though he had this merit to pretend, that he had sent his Son and twenty men with him, to declare for the Queen; and had this also to recommend him to pity, that he had six Sons, and ten Daughters. *Peter Martyr* was forced to retire from *Oxford*: He came to *Lambeth*, but was not like to find long shelter there.

*Crammers*  
Imprisonment.

*Crammer* kept himself quiet for some time, which gave the other party occasion to publish that he was resolved to turn with the Tyde. *Bonner* writ upon that to a friend of his, that Mr. *Canterbury* (so he called him in derision) was become very humble; but that would not serve his turn, for he would be sent to the *Tower* within a very little while. Some advised him to fly beyond Sea; he answered, That though he could not dissuade others to fly from the persecution they saw coming on, yet that was unbecoming a man in his station, that had such a hand in the changes formerly made. He prepared a Writing, which he intended to have published: The substance of it



It was, ' That he found the Devil was more  
 ' than ordinary busie in defaming the Ser-  
 ' vants of God; and that whereas the cor-  
 ' ruptions in the Mass had been cast out,  
 ' and that the Lords Supper was again set  
 ' up, according to its first Institution; the  
 ' Devil now, to promote the Mass, which  
 ' was his invention, set his Instruments on  
 ' work, who gave it out, that it was now  
 ' said in *Canterbury* by his order: Therefore  
 ' he protested that was false, and that a  
 ' dissembling Monk (this was *Thornton Bi-*  
 ' shop Suffragan of *Dover*) had done it  
 ' without his knowledge. He also offered  
 ' that he and *Peter Martyr*, with such other  
 ' four or five as he should name, would be  
 ' ready to prove the errours of the Mass,  
 ' and to defend the whole Doctrine and  
 ' Service set forth by the late King, as most  
 ' conform to the word of God, and to the  
 ' practice of the Ancient Church for many  
 ' Ages. Before he had finished this, *Scory*, that  
 ' had been Bishop of *Chichester*, coming to him,  
 ' he shewed it him and desired his opinion in it.  
 ' He being a hot man, liked it so well, that he  
 ' gave Copies of it: and one of these was  
 ' read publickly in *Cheapside*. So three days  
 ' after that he was cited to the *Star-Cham-*  
 ' ber to answer for it: he confessed it was  
 ' his, and that he had intended to have en-  
 ' larged it in some things, and to have af-  
 ' fixed it with his Hand and Seal to it, at  
 ' Saint *Pauls*, and many other Churches. He  
 ' was at this time dismiss: *Gardiner* saw the  
 ' Queen intended to put Cardinal *Pool* in  
 his


  
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1553.

his room, and that made him endeavour to preserve him. Some moved that a small Pension might be assigned him, and that he should be suffered to live private: for the sweetness of his Temper had procured him so Universal a love from all People, that it was thought too hardy a step to proceed to extremities with him. Others said, he had been the chief Author of all the Heresie that was in the Nation, and that it was not decent for the Queen to shew any favour to him, that had pronounced the Sentence of her Mothers divorce. Within a Week after this, both *Latimer* and he, and several other Preachers were put in Prison.

The strangers driven out of England.

*Peter Martyr* that had come over upon the publick faith, had leave given him to go beyond Sea: so had also *a Lasco*, and the *Germans*: and about two hundred of them went away in *December*: but both in *Denmark*, where they first landed, and in *Lubeck*, *Wismar* and *Hamburgh*, to which they removed, they were denied admittance; because they were of the *Helvetian* Confession, and in all these places the fierce *Lutherans* prevailed; who did so far put off all bowels, that they would not so much as suffer these Refugees to stay among them, till the rigours of the Winter were over: but at last they found shelter in *Friseland*. Many of the *English* foreseeing the storm, resolved to withdraw in time: so the strangers being required to

to be gone, they went under that Cover in great numbers. But the Council understanding that about a thousand had so conveyed themselves away, gave order that none should be suffered to go as strangers, but those that had a Certificate from the Ambassadour of the Princes, to whom they belonged. With those that fled beyond Sea, divers Eminent Preachers went: among whom were *Cox*, *Sandys*, *Grindall*, and *Horn*, all afterwards highly advanced by Queen *Elizabeth*.

These things began to alienate the People from the Government, therefore on the other hand great care was taken to sweeten them. The Queen bestowed the chief Offices of the Household on those that had assisted her in her extremity; there being no way more effectual to engage all to adhere to the Crown, than the grateful acknowledgment of past services. An unusual honour was done to *Ratcliffe* Earl of *Sussex*; he had a Licence granted him under the Great Seal, to cover his Head in her Presence. On the 10th. of *October* the Queen was Crowned, *Gardiner* with ten other Bishops performing that Ceremony, with the ordinary solemnity. *Day* being esteemed the best Preacher among them, preached the Sermon. There was a General Pardon proclaimed, and with that, 'the Queen discharged the Subjects of the two Tenths, two Fifteenths, and a Subsidy that had been granted by the last Parliament: and

Popular  
arts used  
by *Gardiner*.

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‘ she also declared that she would pay  
 ‘ both her Fathers Debts and her Brothers;  
 ‘ and though her Treasure was much ex-  
 ‘ hausted, yet she esteeming the love of  
 ‘ her People her best Treasure, forgave  
 ‘ those Taxes, in lieu of which she desired  
 ‘ only the hearts of her Subjects, and that  
 ‘ they would serve God sincerely, and pray  
 ‘ earnestly for her.

A Parlia-  
 ment  
 meets, and  
 repeals se-  
 veral Laws.

On the 20th. of *October*, a Parliament met. There had been great violences used in many Elections, and many false Returns were made: some that were known to be zealous for the Reformation were forcibly turned out of the House of Commons; which was afterwards offered as a ground upon which that Parliament, and all Acts made in it, might have been annulled: There came only two of the Reformed Bishops to the House of Lords: The two Arch-bishops, and three Bishops were in Prison: Two others were turned out, the rest stayed at home, so only *Taylor* and *Harley*, the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Hertford* came. When Mass began to be said, they went out, as some report it, but were never suffered to come to their places again: others say, they refused to joyn in that Worship, and so were violently thrust out. In the House of Commons, some of the more forward moved, that King *Edward's* Laws might be reviewed, but things were not ripe enough for that. *Nowell* a Prebendary of *Westminster*, was returned



returned Burgesses for a Town; but the House voted, That the Clergy being represented in the lower House of Convocation, could not be admitted to sit among the Laity. The Commons sent up a Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, which the Lords sent down amended in two Proviso's, and the Commons did not then insist on their Privilege, that the Lords could not alter a Bill of Money. The only publick Bill that was finished this Session, was a Repeal of all late Statutes, making any Crime, Treason; that was not so by the 25. of *Edward* the Third; or Felony, that was not so before King *Henry* the Eighth: excepting from the benefit of this Act, all that were put in Prison before the end of *September* last, who were also excepted out of the General Pardon. The Marchioness of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Devonshire* her Son, were restored in blood by two private Acts: and then the Parliament was prorogued for three days, that it might be said, the first Session under the *Queen*, was meerly for Acts of Mercy.

At their next Meeting, after the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was past: a Bill past through both Houses in Four days, repealing the Divorce of the *Queen's* Mother: 'In which they declared the Marriage to have been lawful; and that malicious Persons had possessed the King with scruples concerning it; and had by Corruption procured the Seals of Foreign

The Qu.'s  
Mother's  
marriage  
confirm'd.

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‘Universities condemning it, and had by  
 ‘threatnings and sinistrous Arts obtained  
 ‘the like in *England*: Upon which *Crammer*  
 ‘had pronounced the Sentence of Divorce,  
 ‘which had been confirmed in Parliament:  
 ‘They therefore looking on the miseries  
 ‘that had fallen on the Nation, since that  
 ‘time, as Judgments from God for that sen-  
 ‘tence, condemn it, and repeal the Acts con-  
 ‘firming it. *Gardiner*, in this, performed his  
 promise to the Queen, of getting her to be  
 declared Legitimate, without taking notice  
 of the *Pope’s* authority: but he shewed that he  
 was past shame, when he procured such a Re-  
 peal of a Sentence, which he had so ser-  
 vilely promoted: and he particularly knew  
 the falshood of this pretence, that the fo-  
 reign Universities were corrupted. He  
 had also set it on long before *Crammer*  
 engaged in it, and sat in Court with him,  
 when it was pronounced. By this Act the  
 Lady *Elizabeth* was upon the matter again  
 illegitimated, since the ground upon which  
 her Mothers marriage subsisted, was the  
 Divorce of the first Marriage: and it was  
 either upon this pretence, or on old scores,  
 that the Queen, who had hitherto treated  
 her as a Sister, began now to use her more  
 severely. Others suggest that a secret ri-  
 valry was the true spring of it. It was  
 thought the Earl of *Devonshire* was much  
 in the Queens favour, but he either not  
 presuming so high, or liking Lady *Elizabeth*  
 better, who was both more beautiful, and  
 was XIX. Years younger than the Queen,

made

made his addresſes to her, which provoked the Queen ſo much, that it drew a great deal of trouble on them both.

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King Ed-

ward's

Laws a-

bout Reli-

gion re-

pealed.

The next Bill was a Repeal of all the Laws, made in King *Edward's* reign, concerning Religion: it was argued ſix days in the Houſe of Commons, and carried without a Diviſion: by this, Religion was again put back into the ſtate, in which King *Henry* had left it: and this was to take place after the 20th. of *December* next, but till then it was left free to all, either to uſe the old, or the new Service, as they pleaſed. Another Act paſt againſt all, that ſhould diſquiet any Preacher for his Sermons, or interrupt Divine Offices, either ſuch as had been in the laſt year of King *Henry*, or ſuch as the Queen ſhould ſet out: by which ſhe was empowered to reſtore the ſervice in all things, as it had been, before her Father made the breach with *Rome*: Offenders were either to be puniſhed by Eccleſiaſtical Cenfures, or by an Imprifonment for three Months. And the Houſe of Commons was now ſo forward, that they ſent up a Bill, for the Puniſhing of all ſuch as would not come to Church or Sacraments, after the Old Service ſhould be again ſet up: yet the Lords fearing this might alarm the Nation too much, let it fall. Another Law was made, that if any, to the number of Twelve, ſhould meet to alter any thing in Religion, or for any Riot, or ſhould by any

Q 3

publick

publick notice, such as Bells or Beacons, gather the People together, and upon Proclamation made, should not disperse themselves; they, and all that assisted them, were declared guilty of Felony: and if any more than two, met for these ends, they should lye a Year in Prison; and all People were required, under severe Penalties, to assist the Justices, for repressing such Assemblies. So the favour of the former Act of Repeal, appeared to be a mockery, when so soon after it, so severe a Law made: by which disorders, that might arise upon sudden heats, were declared to be Felonies. The Marquess of Northampton's second Marriage was also annulled, but no Declaration was made against Divorces in general, grounded on the Indissolubleness of the Marriage bond; only that particular sentence was condemned, as pronounced upon false surmises.

The Duke  
of Norfolk's  
Attainder  
repealed.

An Act also passed, annulling the Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk: those who had purchased some parts of his Estate from the Crown, opposed it much in the House of Commons: but the Duke came down to the House, and desired them earnestly to pass it; and assured them, that he would refer all differences between him and the Patentees, either to Arbiters, or to the Queen: and so it was agreed to. 'It set forth the pretences, 'that were made use of to Attaint him; 'as that he used Coats of Arms, which ' he



he and his Ancestors had lawfully used. There was a Commission given to some, to declare the Royal assent to it; but that was not signed, but only stamped by the King's mark: and that not at the upper end, as was usual, but beneath; nor did it appear, that the Royal Assent was ever given to it, and they declared, that in all time coming, the Royal assent should be given, either by the King in Person, or by a Commission under the Great Seal; signed by the King's hand, and publicly declared to both Houses. *Cranmer, Guilford Dudley*, and his Wife the Lady *Jane*, and two of his Brothers were tryed for Treason; they all confessed their Indictments: only *Cranmer* appealed to the Judges, who knew how unwillingly he had consented to the Exclusion of the Queen, and that he did it not, till they, whose profession it was to know the Law, had signed it. They were all Attainted of Treason, for levying War against the Queen, and their Attainders were confirmed in Parliament; so was *Cranmer* legally divested of his Archbishoprick; but since he was put in it by the *Pope's* authority, it was resolved to degrade him by the forms of the Canon-Law: and the *Queen* was willing to pardon his Treason, that it might appear she did not act upon revenge, but Zeal: she was often prevailed with, to pardon Injuries against her self, but was always inexorable in matters of Religion.

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A Treaty  
for reconciling  
England to  
the Pope:

But now her Treaty with the Pope began to take vent, which put the Parliament in some disorder. When she came first to the Crown, the Popes Legate at *Brussels* sent over *Commendone*, to see if he could speak with her, and to perswade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apostolick See. The management of the matter was left to his discretion, for the Legate would not trust this secret to *Cardiner*, nor any of the other Bishops. *Commendone* came over in the disguise of a Merchant, and by accident met with one of the Queens Servants, who had lived some years beyond Sea, and was known to him, and by his means he procured access to the Queen. She assured him of her firm resolution to return to the obedience of that See, but charged him to manage the matter with great prudence; for if it were too early discovered, it might disturb her affairs, and obstruct the design. By him she wrote both to the Pope, and to Cardinal *Pool*; and instructed *Commendone*, in order to the sending over *Pool* with a Legatine power: She also asked him, whether the Pope might not dispence with *Pool* to marry, since he was only in Deacons Orders. This was a welcome Message to the Court of *Rome*, and proved the foundation of *Commendone*'s advancement. There was a publick rejoicing for three days, and the Pope said Mass himself upon it; and gave a largess of Indulgences, in which he might be the more liberal, because they were like to come into credit again,

again, and to go off at the old rates. Yet all that *Commendone* said in the Consistory, was, That he understood from good hands, that the Queen was well disposed to a reunion. Some of the stiffer Cardinals thought it was below the Popes dignity to send a Legate, till an Embassie should come first from the Queen, desiring it: Yet the secret was so whispered among them, that it was generally known. It was said, they ought to imitate the Shepherd in the Parable, who went to seek the stray Sheep: And therefore *Pool* was appointed to go Legate, with ample powers. *Gardiner* was in fear of him, and so advised the Emperour to stop him in his journey; and to touch the Emperour in a tender part, it is said that he let him know that the Queen had some Inclinations for the Cardinal. The Emperour had now proposed a Match with her for his Son, though he was nine years younger than she was; yet she being but thirty seven, there was reason enough to hope for Children; and the uniting *England* to the *Spanish* Monarchy seem'd to be all that was wanting to strengthen it on all hands, so as to ruine the *French* Kingdom. The Queen saw reasons enough to determine her to entertain it: She found it would be hard to bring the Nation about in matters of Religion, without the assistance of a foreign power: Yet it is more reasonable to think that *Gardiner*, who was always governed by his Interests, would have rather promoted the match with *Pool*, for then

And for a  
Match  
with the  
Prince of  
*Spain*.

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Pool's ad-  
 vices to  
 the Queen.

then he had been Infallibly made Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and had got *Pool's* Hat; and the Government would have been much easier, if the Queen had married a Subject, than it could be under a Stranger, especially one whose greatness made all people very apprehensive of him.

The restoring the Papal power, and the Match with the Prince of *Spain*, were things of such uneasie digestion, that it was not fit to adventure on both at once; therefore the Emperour prest the Queen to begin with her Marriage, and by that she would be powerfully assisted to carry on her other designs; and at last the Queen her self was perswaded to send to *Pool*, to advise him to stop his Journey for some time. She sent over the Acts of this Parliament, to let him see what progress she was making, and to assure him she would make all convenient haste in the Re-union: But the Parliament had expressed so great an aversion to the restoring the Popes power, and were so apprehensive of losing the Abbey-Lands, that it would prejudice her affairs much, if he should come over before the peoples minds were better prepared. She also desired him to send her a List of those that were fit to be made Bishops, in the room of those that were turned out. To this he writ a long and tedious answer; he rejoiced at the Acts that were passed, but observed great defects in them: In that concerning her Mothers Marriage, there was no mention made of the Popes Bull of Dispensation,



tion, by which only it could be a lawful Marriage. The other for setting up the Worship, as it was in the end of her Fathers reign, he censured more; for they were then in a state of Schism, and so this established Schism by a Law: And he said, that while the Interdict lay on the Nation, it was a sin to perform Divine Offices. He had been very frankly dispatched by the Pope and the Consistory, with many favourable Instructions; but if these were so despised, and he still stopt, it might provoke him to recal his power. He knew all this flowed from the Emperour, who would perhaps advise her to follow such Political Maximes as himself was governed by, but his ill success in the business of the *Interim*, might well frighten others from following such Counsels: And he was afraid that Carnal Policy might govern her too much, and that so she would fall from her simplicity in Christ. He desired her to take Courage, and to depend on God; and advised her to go her self to the Parliament, having before-hand prepared some to second her, and to tell them that she was touched in Conscience with a sense of the sin of Schism, and that therefore she desired the Act of Attainder that stood against him might be Repealed, and that he might be invited to come over, and reconcile them to the Apostolick See: And she might assure them that all necessary caution should be used to prevent the Nations being brought under a thraldome to the Papacy.

But

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The Parliament  
opposes  
the match,  
and is dis-  
solved.

But the Queen was now possess'd with *Gardiner's* Counsels, and look'd on *Pool's* advices as more candid than prudent. *Gardiner* perswaded her that though he was a good and learned man, yet he understood not the present genius of the Nation; and *Pool* lookt on *Gardiner* as a man of no Conscience, and that he was more conversant in Intrigues of State, than touch'd with any sense of Religion: But the Emperour was convinc'd that *Gardiner's* Methods were surer, and preferred them to *Pool's*.

When the Treaty of the Queens Marriage came to be known, the House of Commons was much alarmed at it; and they sent their Speaker with twenty of their Members, with an Address to her, not to marry a stranger: And they were so inflamed, that the Court judg'd it necessary to dissolve the Parliament. *Gardiner* upon this, let the Emperour know that the jealousies which were taken up on the account of the Match were such, that except very extraordinary conditions were offer'd, it would occasion a general Rebellion. He also writ to him that great sums must be sent over both to gratifie the Nobility, and to enable them to carry the Elections to the next Parliament, in opposition to such as would stand against them. As for Conditions, it was resolv'd to grant any that should be demand'd; for the Emperour reckon'd that if his Son were once married to her, it would be easie for him to govern the Councils as he pleas'd: And for Money there

there was 400000 pound ordered to be divided up and down the Nation, at the discretion of *Gardiner*, and the Emperours Ambassadors: A great part of it was payed in hand, and the rest was brought over with the Prince. This the Emperour borrowed from some of the Free Towns of *Germany*; and when they were pressing him for the re-payment of it about a year after; he for his excuse told them the charge he had been at for his Sons Marriage, but that he hoped to be reimbursed from *England*; which was thus bought and sold by a practising Bishop and a corrupted House of Commons. *Gardiner* did also make use of his power, as Chancellour, to force all people to comply with him; for there was no favour nor common Justice shewed in his Court of Chancery to any others.

With the Parliament a Convocation met, *Harpsfield* preached to them, he flattered the Queen, and the Bishops that had been deprived in the late times, with a zeal that shewed how fervently he aspired to preferment: He inveighed against the late times with great sharpness; so that his Sermon was divided between Satyr and Panegyrick. Six of the Reformed Divines were qualified by their dignities to sit in the lower House, being either Deans or Archdeacons, who were *Philpot*, *Philips*, *Haddon*, *Cheyney*, *Ailmer* and *Young*. They made a vigorous opposition to a motion that was proposed for condemning the Catechism and Common-Prayer-Book that had

A Convocation meets, and disputes about the Sacrament.

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1553.

had been set out in King *Edward's* time, and particularly the Articles against Transubstantiation: To this all agreed except those six. It was pretended that the Catechism was not set out by authority of Convocation: To which *Philpot* answered, That the Convocation had deputed some to compose it, and so it was on the matter, their work. A disputation was proposed concerning the Sacrament, though all the rest of the Convocation subscribed the Conclusion first; which was complained of as a preposterous method. The six desired that *Ridley* and *Rogers*, with some others; might be suffered to come and join with them; but that was refused, since they were no members, and were then in Prison.

On the twenty third of *October* the dispute began, many of the Nobility, and others, being present; *Weston* was Prolocutor, he opened it with a Protestation, that they went not to dispute, as calling the Truth in question; but only to satisfy the objections of a few. *Haddon*, *Ailmer* and *Young*, foresaw that it was resolved to run them down with numbers & noise, so at first they refused to dispute, and the last of them went away. *Cheyney* argued from *St. Paul's* calling the Sacrament *Bread*, *Origen's* saying that it nourished the Body, and *Theodore's* saying that the Elements did not depart from their former substance, form, and shape. *Moreman* answered, that *Theodore's* words were to be understood of an accidental substance: It was replied, that form and



and *shape* belonged to the accidents, but *substance* belonged to the nature of the Elements. *Philpot* shewed that the occasion of his using these words was to prove against the *Emychians*, that there was a true humane nature in Christ, notwithstanding its union with the Godhead; which he proved by this simile, that the Elements in the Eucharist remained in their nature; so this must be understood of the substance of Bread and Wine: But to this no answer was made; and when he seemed to press it too far, he was commanded to be silent. *Haddon* cited many passages out of the Fathers, to shew that they believed Christ was still in Heaven, and that the Sacrament was a memorial of him till his second coming: He also asked, whether they thought that Christ did eat his own natural Body; and when that was confessed, he said it was needless to dispute with men who could swallow down such an absurdity. The disputation continued several days: *Philpot* made a long speech against the Corporal presence, but was oft interrupted; for they told him that he might propose an Argument, but they would not hear him make Harangues. He undertook to prove before the Queen and her Council, that the Mass, as they had it, was no Sacrament at all, and that the body of Christ was not present in it; and if he failed in it, he would be content to be burnt at the Court Gate. After some short time spent in citing passages out of the Fathers, *Philpot* was commanded to hold his peace, other-

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otherwise they would send him to Prison: He claimed the privilege of the House for freedom of Speech, but being much cried down, he said they were a company of men who had dissembled with God and the World in the late Reign, and were now met together to set forth false devices, which they were not able to maintain. *Theodore's* words were much and often insisted on; so *Weston* answered, if *Theodore* should be yielded to them, they had an hundred Fathers on the other side. *Cheyney* shewed out of *Hesychius*, that the custome of *Jerusalem* was to burn so much of the Elements as was not consumed: And he asked what it was that was burnt: One answered, it was either the Body of *Christ*, or the substance of Bread put there by Miracle; at which he smiled, and said a reply was needless. When much discourse had past, *Weston* asked if the House were not fully satisfied, to which the Clergy answered *Yes*; but the Spectators cried out *No, No*; for the doors were opened: then *Weston* asked the five Disputants if they would answer the Arguments that should be put to them? *Ailmer* said, they would not enter into such a Disputation, where matters were so indecently carried: They proposed only the Reasons why they could not joyn with the Vote that had been put concerning the Sacrament, but unless they had fairer Judges, they would go no further. *Weston* broke up all by saying, *You have the Word, but we have the Sword*; rightly pointing

ing out that wherein the strength of both sides consisted. It is not to be doubted but that the Popish party pretended they had the Victory, for that always the stronger side does upon such occasions: Yet it was visible that this dispute was not so fairly carried, as those were in King *Edward's* days; in which for near a year before any change was made, there were publick disputes in the Univerſities; which were more proper places for them, than a Town full of noise and buſineſs. The question was also here determined first, and then disputed: And the preſence and favour of the Privy Council did as much raise the one party, as it depressed the other. In the end of this year *Veysey* was again repossessed of the See of *Exeter*, *Coverdale* being now a Prisoner in the *Tower*.

In the beginning of the next year, a great Embassy came from the Emperour, to agree the conditions of the Marriage between his Son and the Queen. *Gardiner* took care to have extraordinary ones granted, both to induce the Parliament more easily to consent to it, and to keep the *Spaniards* from being admitted to any share in the Government, that so he might keep it in his own hands: But the Emperour was resolved to grant every thing that should be asked. It was agreed that the Government should be entirely in the Queen, and that though *Pr. Philip* was to be named in all Writs, and his Image was to be on the

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The Treaty of Marriage begun,

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Coin and Seals, yet the Queens hand alone was to give authority to every thing, without his: No *Spaniard* was to be capable of any Office: No change was to be made in the Law, nor was the Queen to be required to go out of *England* against her will: Nor might their issue go out of *England* but by the consent of the Nobility. The Queen was to have of Jointure 40000*l.* out of *Spain*, and 20000*l.* out of the *Netherlands*: If the Queen had a Son, he was to inherit *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, as well as *England*; if Daughters only, they were to succeed to her Crowns, and to have such portions from *Spain*, as was ordinary to be given to Kings Daughters: The Prince was to have no share in the Government after her death: And the Queen might keep up her League with *France*, notwithstanding this Match.

Which  
provokes  
some to  
rebel.

But this did not satisfie the Nation, which lookt on these offers only as baits to hook them into slavery. The severities of the *Spanish* Government in all the Provinces that were united to that Crown, and the monstrous Cruelties exercised in the *West Indies* were much talkt of, and it was said *England* must now preserve it self, or be for ever enslaved. *Carew* and *Wiat* undertook to raise the Countrey, the one in *Cornwall*, and the other in *Kent*, and the Duke of *Suffolk* promised to raise the Midland Counties: for the disposition to rise was general, and might have been fatal to the Queen, if there had been good heads to have led the people.



people. But before it grew ripe, the design was discovered, and upon that Sir *Peter Carew* fled to *France*.

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Wiat's Rebellion.

*Wiat* gathered some men about him, and on the twenty fifth of *January* he made Proclamation at *Maidstone*, that he intended nothing but to preserve the Nation from the yoke of strangers; and assured the people that all *England* would rise. The Sheriff of *Kent* required him, under pain of Treason, to disperse his Company, but he did not obey his Summons: One *Knevet* raised a body of men about *Tunbridge*, and marched towards him, but was intercepted and routed by a force commanded by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was sent with two hundred Horse, and six hundred *Londoners* to dissipate this Insurrection; but some that came over from *Wiat* as deserters perswaded the *Londoners* that it was a common cause, in which they were engaged, to maintain the liberty of the Nation: So they all went over to *Wiat*. Upon this, the Duke of *Norfolk* retired back to *London*; and *Wiat*, who had kept himself under the defence of *Rocheſter-Bridge*, advanced towards it. The Duke of *Suffolk* made a faint attempt to raise the Country, but it did not succeed, and he was taken and brought to the *Tower*. The Queen sent the offer of a Pardon to *Wiat* and his men; but that not being received by them, she sent some of her Council to treat with him. He was blown up with his small success, and moved that the Queen would come to the *Tower of London*, and

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put the command of it into his hands, till a new Council were settled about her: So it appeared there was no Treaty to be thought on. The Queen went into *London*, and made great protestations of her love to her people, and that she would not dispose of herself in Marriage, but for the good of the Nation. *Wiat* was now four thousand strong, and came to *Southwark*, but could not force the Bridge of *London*: He was informed the City would all rise, if he should come to their aid; but he could not find Boats for passing over to *Essex*, so he was forced to go to the Bridge of *Kingston*. On the fourth of *February* he came thither, but found it cut; yet his men mended it, and he got to *Hide Park* next morning. His men were weary and disheartned, and now not above 500; so that though the Queens forces could have easily dispersed them, yet they let them go forward, that they might catch themselves into their hands: He marched through the *Strand*, and got to *Ludgate*, where he hoped to have found the Gate opened; but being disappointed, he turned back, and was forsaken by his men, so that a Heralld without using any force, apprehended him at *Temple-bar*. It was on *Asse Wednesday*, and the Queen had shewed such Courage that she would not stir from *Whitehall*, nor would she omit the Devotions of that day; and this success was looked on as a reward from Heaven on her Piety. This raw and ill formed Rebellion was as lucky

lucky for the ends of the Court, as if *Gardiner* had projected it; for in a weak Government an ill digested Insurrection raises the power of the Prince, and adds as much Spirit to his Friends, as it depresses the faction against him; and it also gives a handle to do some things for which it were not easie otherwise to find either Colours or Instruments. The Popish Authors studied to cast the blame of this on the Reformed Preachers: but did not name any one of them, that was in it; so it appears, that what some later Writers have said of *Poynet's* having been in it, is false; otherwise his name had certainly been put in the number of those, that were Attainted for it.

Upon this it was resolved to proceed against *Lady Jane Gray*, and her Husband; she had lived six Months in the daily Meditations of Death, so she was not much surpris'd at it: *Fecknam*, who was sent to prepare her for Death, acknowledged that he was astonish'd at her calm behaviour, her great knowledge, and the extraordinary sense she had of Religion. She writ to her Father, to moderate his grief for her death, since it was great matter of joy to her, that she was so near an end of her Miseries, and the enjoyment of Eternal glory. One *Harding*, that had been her Fathers Chaplain, and a zealous Preacher in King *Edward's* time, had now changed his Religion: to him she wrote a long and pathetick Letter, setting forth his Apostasy,

*Lady Jane  
Grays Execution.*

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lie, and the Judgments of God, which he might expect upon it. She sent her *Greek* New Testament to her Sister, with a Letter in *Greek*, recommending the study of that Book to her, and chiefly the following it in her practice: these were the last exercises of this rare young Person. She was at first much moved, when she saw her Husband led out to his Execution, but recovered her self, when she considered how soon she was to follow him: and when he desired they might take leave of one another, she declined it; for she thought it would encrease their Grief, and disorder: and continued so settled in her temper, that she saw his beheaded Body carried to the Chappel in the *Tower*, without expressing any visible concern about it. She was carried out next to a Scaffold set up within the *Tower*, to hinder great Crouds from looking on a sight, which was like to raise much compassion in the Spectators. She confessed her sin, in taking an honour that was due to another, though it was a thing neither procured nor desired by her; and acknowledged her other sins against God, that she had loved her self, and the World too much; and thanked God for making her afflictions a means to her repentance: she declared she died a true Christian, trusting only to the Merits of *Christ*; then she repeated the *LI. Psalm*, and stretched out her Head on the Block, which upon the signal given, was cut off. Her Death was as much lamented, as her Life had been admired.



mired. It affected Judge *Morgan*, that had pronounced the Sentence, so much, that he run mad, and thought she still followed him. The Queen her self was troubled at it; for it was rather reason of State, than private Resentment, that set her on to it.

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Several others suffered.

Her Father was soon after tried by his Peers, and Condemned and Executed. He was the less pitied, because by his means his Daughter was brought to her untimely end. *Wiat* was brought to his Trial, he begged his Life in a most abject manner, but he was Condemned and Executed, and so were Fifty-eight more: Six hundred of the Rabble were appointed to come with Ropes about their Necks, and beg the Queen's pardon, which was granted them. A slander was cast on the Earl of *Devonshire*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, as if they had set on the rising that was intended in the West. *Wiat*, in hopes of Life, had accused them, but he did them Justice at his Death; yet they were both put in Prison upon it. Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton* was accused of the same crime, but after a long Trial, he was acquitted, yet his Jury were hardly used, and severely fined. Sir *Jo. Cheek* was sought for: so he fled beyond Sea, but both he, and Sir *Peter Carew*, hoping that *Philip* would be glad to signalize his first coming to *England* with Acts of Grace, rendred themselves to him: After that, *Cheek* was again taken in *Flanders*, upon a new suspicion, and to deliver himself out of his trouble, he re-

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The Impo-  
sture of  
the Spirit  
in the  
Wall.

Injuncti-  
ons sent  
to the  
Bishops.

nounced his Religion: But though he got his Liberty upon that, yet he could never recover the quiet of his mind; so he languished for some time and dyed.

There was at this time a base Imposture discovered in *London*, one seemed to speak out of a Wall, in a strange tone of Voice. Great numbers flockt about the House, and several things, both relating to Religion, and the State, were uttered by it; but it was found to be one *Elizabeth Crofts*, who by the help of a Whistle spoke those words through a Hole in the Wall. There was no other Complice found, but one *Drake*, and they both were made to do Penance for it publickly at *S. Pauls*.

Injunctions were now given to the Bishops, to execute such Ecclesiastical Laws, as had been in force in *K. Henry's* time: That in their Courts they should proceed in their own Names, that the Oath of Supremacy should be no more exacted: none suspected of Heresie was to be put in Orders; they were required to suppress Heresie and Hereticks, and to turn out all married Clergymen, and to separate them from their Wives: If they left their Wives, they might put them in some other Cure, or reserve a Pension for them, out of their Livings: none that had vowed Chastity, was to be suffered to live with his Wife: those that were ordained by the Book, set out in *King Edward's* time, were to be confirmed by all the other Rites then left out, and

and that was declared to be no valid Ordination.

The Queen gave also a special Commission to *Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstall, Day, and Kitchin*, to proceed against the Archbishop of *Tork*, and the Bishops of *St. Davids, Chester and Bristol*, and to deprive them of their Bishopricks, for having contracted Marriage, and thereby having broken their Vows, and defiled their Function. 'She also 'authorised them, to call before them the 'Bishops of *Lincoln, Gloucester and Hereford*, 'who held their Bishopricks, only during 'their good behaviour, and since they had 'done things contrary to the Laws of God, 'and the Practice of the Universal Church, 'to declare their Bishopricks void, *as they 'were indeed already void.* And thus were seven of the Reformed Bishops turned out at a dash. It was much censured, that those who had married according to a Law then in force, which was now only repealed for the future, should be deprived for it: and this was a new severity: for in former times, when the Popes were most set against the Marriage of the Clergy, it was put to their option, whether they would part with their Wives, or with their Benefices: but none were summarily deprived, as was now done. The other Bishops, without any form of Process, or special matter objected to them, were turned out, by an Act of meer Arbitrary Government. And all this was done by vertue of the Queens being *Head of the Church*, which, though she condemned

as

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Matty Bishops turned out.

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as a sinful and sacrilegious power, yet she now imployed it against those Bishops, whose Sees were quickly filled with Men, in whom the Queen confided. *Goodrick* died this Year: It seems he complied with the change now made, otherwise he that put the Seal to Lady *Jane's* Patents, could not have escaped the being questioned for it. He was an ambitious Man, and so no wonder, if earthly considerations prevailed more with him, than a good Conscience. *Scory*, that was Bishop of *Chichester*, renounced his Wife, and did Penance for his Marriage, but soon after he fled beyond Sea, and returned in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign: so that his Compliance was the effect of his weakness and fears. *Burton* resigned *Bath* and *Wells*, and a Book of recantation was published in his name, containing severe reflections, both on the Reformers, and on the Reformation it self; but it is not certain, whether it was writ by him, or was only a forgery, put out in his Name: for if he turned so heartily, as the strain of that Book runs, it is not likely, that he would have been put from his Bishoprick: but he fled beyond Sea: yet it seems, both *Scory* and he, gave great offence by their behaviour; for though they were the only surviving Reformed Bishops, when Queen *Elizabeth* succeeded, yet they were so far from being promoted, that they were not so much as restored to their former Sees, but put in meaner ones. By all these deprivations and resignations, there were  
 sixteen



fourteen new Bishops made, which made no small change in the face of the *English* Church. Now the Old Service was every where set up, in which *Bonner* made such hast, that before the Royal Assent was given to the Bill for it, he began the Old Service and Processions. The first opening of it was somewhat strange, for it being on Saint *Katherine's* day, the Quiristers went up to the Steeple, and sung the Anthem there, according to the Custom for that Day. Great numbers of the Clergy were summarily deprived for being Married, they were estimated by *Parker* to be 12000. and most of them were judged upon common fame, without any Process, but a Citation; and many being then in Prison, yet were Censured, and put out for Contumacy, and held guilty. Many Books were written against the Marriage of the Clergy, and the accusing them of Impurity and sensuality on that account, was one of the chief Topicks used by the Popish Clergy, to disgrace the Reformers, which made some recriminate too indecently, and lay open the filthiness of the Unmarried Clergy, and those that were called Religious, who led most irregular lives; in particular, it was said *Bonner* had no reason to be a friend to that state, for he was the Bastard of a Bastard, and his Father, though a Priest, begat him in Adultery.

On the 2d. of *April* a Parliament met, *A New Par-*  
but the most considerable Members were liament.  
before-hand corrupted by *Gardiner*, who  
gave

A proposition to make the Queen absolute.

gave them Pensions, some 200. and others 100*l.* a Year for their Voices. The first Act that past was declaratory, that all the Prerogatives and Limitations, which by Law belonged to the Kings of *England* were the same, whether the Crown fell into the hands of a Male or a Female. The secret of this was little known, some were afraid there was an ill design in it, and that it being declared that she had all the authority, which any of her Progenitors ever had, it might be inferred from thence, that she might pretend to a right of Conquest, and so seize on the Estates of the *English*, as *William* the Conqueror had done. But it was so conceived, that the Queen was put under the same limitations, as well as acknowledged to have the same Prerogatives, with her Progenitors: The secret of this was afterwards discovered. A projecting Man, that had served *Cromwell*, and loved to meddle much, had been deeply engaged both in *Lady Jane's* business, and in the late Insurrection, and was now in danger of his life, so he made application to the Emperour's Ambassador, and by his means obtained his Pardon. He offered a Project, that the Queen should declare, that she succeeded to the Crown by the Common-Law, but was not tied by the Statute-Law, which did only bind Kings, and therefore a Queen was not obliged by it, thus she might pretend to be a Conqueror, and rule at pleasure: and by this means might restore both Religion, and the *Abbey-Lands*, and be under

der no restraint: This the Ambassadour brought to the *Queen*, and prayed her to keep it very secret. But she disliked it, yet she sent for *Gardiner*, and charged him to give her his Opinion of it sincerely, as he would answer to God for it, at the Great Day. He read it carefully, and told her it was a most pernicious contrivance, and beg'd her not to listen to such Plat-forms, which might be brought her by base Sycophants: Upon that, she burnt the Paper, and charged the Ambassadour not to bring her any more such Projects. This gave *Gardiner* great apprehensions of the mischiefs that Spanish Counsels might bring on the Nation, and so he procured the Act to be made, by which the Queen was bound by the Law, as much as her Ancestors were. He also got an Act to be past, ratifying the Articles of the Marriage, with strong clauses, for keeping the Government entirely in the Queen's hands; that so *Philip* might not take it on him, as *Henry* the VII. had done, when he married the Heir of the House of *Tork*: for, as he set up a Title in his own Name, and kept the Government in his own hands; so the Spaniards began to reckon a descent from *John* of Gaunt, which made *Gardiner* the more cautious: and it must be confessed, that the preserving the Nation out of the hands of the Spaniards, was almost only owing to his care and wisdom. The Bishoprick of *Durham* was again restored, after a vigorous resistance made by those of *Gate-side* near *Newcastle*. The Attainders

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tainers of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Fifty-eight more, for the late Rebellion, were confirmed: The Commons sent up four several Bills against *Lollard's*, one confirming the Act of the six Articles, and others against Erroneous Opinions, but they were all laid aside by the Lords: for the corrupted Members in the lower House, were officious to shew their Zeal for *Spain* and *Papery*: Another Bill was sent up by them, that the Bishop of *Rome* should have no authority to trouble any for possessing *Abbey* Lands. But it was said this was preposterous to begin with a limitation of the *Pope's* authority, before they had acknowledged, that he had any power at all in *England*: and that would come in more properly, after they had reconciled the Nation to him.

New disputations  
at *Oxford*  
with *Cranmer*.

During this Parliament, the Convocation sat, and that they might remove the objections that some made, to the Disputations at their last meeting, that the ablest Men of the Reformers were kept in Prison, while that cause was debated, they sent a Committee of their ablest men to *Oxford*, to dispute with *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, who were also sent thither. The Points to be disputed about, were Transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the Mass. When *Cranmer* was brought before them, and they exhorted him to return to the unity of the Church; he answered, that he was always for that Unity, which could consist with truth. They  
fell



fell into a long dispute concerning the words of the Institution, that they must be true, for Christ was Truth, and was then making his Testament: many Passages of the Fathers were also alledged against him; it was said that he had translated many things falsely out of the Fathers, in his Book: and the Prolocutor called him often an *Unlearned and Impudent Man*. But he carried himself with that gravity and mildness, that many were observ'd to be much affected at it, and to weep: he vindicated his sincerity in his Book, he shewed that Figurative speeches were true, and when the Figures were clearly understood, they were likewise plain, he said, the Sacrament was effectually and really Christs Body, as it was broken on the Cross, that is, his Passion effectually applied to us. The whole action was carried with such hissing and insulting, and ended with such shouts of Triumph, as if *Cranmer* had been quite baffled, that it was visible there was nothing intended, but to abuse the ignorant People, and make them believe he was run down. *Ridley* was brought out next day, he began with deep Protestations of his sincerity, and that he had changed the Opinion he had been bred up in, meerly upon the force of Truth; he argued from the Scriptures, that speak of Christs leaving the World, and sitting at the right hand of God; and that the Sacrament was a Memorial, which good and bad might equally receive; that it was against the Humane Nature, to swallow down a living Man;

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Man; that this Opinion was contrary to the humanity of Christ, and was a new Doctrine, unknown to the Fathers, and brought into the Church in the later Ages. *Smith* argued against him, from Christ's appearing to Saint *Stephen*, and to Saint *Paul*, that he might be in more places at once. *Ridley* said, Christ might either come down and appear to them, or a Representation might be made of him, but he could not be both in Heaven and Earth at once. Many of *Chrysostome's* expressions were alledged, but he said, these were Rhetorical figures, and to be explained by other plainer passages. The dispute was carried on with the same Insultings, that had been used the Day before: and in conclusion, *Weston* the Prolocutor said, they saw the Obstinacy, Vain-glory, and Inconstancy of that Man, but they saw likewise the force of Truth; so he bid them cry out with him, *Truth has the Victory*: upon which that was ecchoed over and over again, by the whole Assembly. *Latimer* was brought out next Day, he told them he was Four-score Years old, and not fit for disputing, so he would declare his Opinion, and then leave them to say what they pleased. He thought the Sacrament was only a Memorial of Christ, all who fed on Christ had Eternal life, and therefore that feeding could not be meant of the Sacrament, since both good and bad received it; he said, his Memory was much impaired, but his Faith was founded on the Word of God; so though he could not dispute well, yet his Faith

Faith was firmly rooted: Upon this there were extraordinary shouts raised, and during the whole Debates, the noise and disorder was such, that it lookt liker a Country Game, than a Dispute among Divines; four or five spoke oft at once, so that it was not possible to hear what they said, much less to answer it. The Committee of Convocation condemned them all, as obstinate Hereticks, and declared them to be no Members of the Church: They appealed from their Sentence to the Judgment of God, and expressed great joy in the hopes they had, they should glorifie God by dying for his Truth. *Cranmer* sent a Petition to the Council, complaining of the disorder of these Disputes, and of hudling them up in such hast, that it was visible, nothing was intended by them, but to shuffle up things so, that the World might be more easily abused with the name of a Disputation. But this was not delivered, for it was intended to keep up this boasting, that the Champions of the Reformation were publickly baffled.

It was also resolved to carry some of the Prisoners, that were in *London*, to *Cambridge*, and there to erect new Trophies in the same manner, they had done at *Oxford*. Upon this, three of the imprisoned Bishops, and seven Divines, signed a Paper, by which they declared, that they would engage in no dispute, except it were in Writing, unless it were in the presence of the Queen,

S

or

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or the Council, or before either of the Houses of Parliament. It was visible, the design of disputing was not to find out the Truth, otherwise it had been done, before these Points had been so positively determined: but now there was no benefit to be expected by it; nor could they look for fair dealing, where their Enemies were to be their Judges: nor would they suffer them to speak their minds freely, and after so long an Imprisonment, their Books and Papers being kept from them, they could not be furnished to answer many things that might be objected to them. Then they added a short account of their Perswasions in the chief points of Controversie, which they would be ready to defend on fair and equal terms: and concluded with a charge to all People not to Rebel against the Queen, but to obey all her Commands, that were not contrary to the Law of God.

The Pr.  
of Spain  
lands, and  
marries  
the Queen.

In July, Prince Philip landed at Southampton: when he set foot to Land, he drew his Sword, and carried it a little way naked in his hand. This was interpreted, as a sign, that he intended to rule by the Sword, but his friends said, it imported, that he would draw his Sword for the defence of the Nation. The Mayor of Southampton brought him the Keys of the Town, which he took from him, and gave them back, without the least shew of his being pleased with this expression of that respect done him. This not being sutable to the Genius of the Nation,



tion, that is much taken with the gracious looks of their Princes, was thought a sign of vast pride and moroseness. The Queen met him at *Winchester*, where they were married: he being then in the XXVII. and she in the XXXVIII. Year of her Age. The Emperour resigned to him his Titular Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and his more valuable one of *Naples*, so they were proclaimed with a Pompous Enumeration of their Titles. The Kings gravity was very unacceptable to the *English*, who love a mean between the stiffness of the *Spaniards*, and the gaiety of the *French*. But if they did not like his temper, they were out of measure in love with his Bounty and Wealth: for he brought over a vast Treasure with him, the greatest part of which was distributed among those, who for his *Spanish* Gold, had sold their Country and Religion. At his coming to *London*, he procured the Pardon of many Prisoners, and among others, of *Holgate* Archbishop of *York*, of whom I find no mention made after this. It is very likely he changed his Religion, otherwise it is not probable that *Philip* would have interceded for him. He also interposed for preserving Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonshire*. *Gardiner* was much set against them, and thought they made but half work, as long as she lived. *Wiat* had accused them, in hopes of saving his life, but when that did not preserve him, he did publicly vindicate them on the Scaffold. The Earl of

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*Devonshire*, to be freed from all jealousy, went beyond Sea, and dyed a Year after in *Italy*, as some say, of Poison. *Philip* at first took care to preserve *Lady Elizabeth*, on a generous account, pitying her Innocence, and hoping by so acceptable an act of favour, to recommend himself to the Nation; but Interest did soon after fortifie those good and wise Inclinations, for when he grew to be out of hope of issue by the Queen; he considered that the Queen of *Scotland*, who was soon after married to the *Dolphin*, was next in succession after *Lady Elizabeth*; so if she should be put out of the way, the Crown of *England* would have become an Accession to the *French* Crown: and therefore he took care to preserve her, and perhaps he hoped to have wrought so much on her, by the good offices he did her, that if her Sister should dye without Children, she might be induced to marry him. But this was the only grateful thing he did in *England*. He affected so extravagant a state, and was so sullen and silent, that it was not easie for any to come within the Court, and Access to him was not to be had, without demanding it with almost as much formality as Ambassadors used, when they desired an Audience: So that a General discontent was quickly spread into most places of the Kingdom, only *Gardiner* was well pleased, for the Conduct of affairs was put entirely in his hands. Many malicious reports were spread of the Queen, particularly in *Norfolk*; at one of these the Queen,

Queen was much concerned, which was, that she was with Child before the King came over; but after great examinations, nothing could be made out of it.

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The Bishops went to make their Visitations this Summer, to see whether the old Service, with all its Rites, was again set up; they also enquired concerning the lives and labours of the Clergy, of their Marriage, and their living chastly; whether they were suspected of Heresie, or of favouring Hereticks? whether they went to Taverns or Alehouses? whether they admitted any to officiate, that had been Ordained schismatically; before they were recopiled, or to preach, if they had not obtained a Licence? whether they visited the sick, and administered the Sacraments reverently? whether they were guilty of Merchandise, or Usury? and whether they did not once every Quarter at least, expound to the People, the Elements of the Christian Religion in the Vulgar Tongue? They did not proceed steadily, in relation to the Ordinations made in King *Edward's* time; for at this time all that they did, was to add the Ceremonies that were then left out in the Book of Ordinations: but afterwards they carried themselves, as if they had esteemed those Orders of no force; and therefore they did not degrade those Bishops or Priests, that had been ordained by it: Nor has the Church of *Rome* been steady in this matter, for though upon some Schisms, they

The Bishops visit their Diocesses.

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have annulled all Ordinations made in them; yet they have not annulled the Ordinations of the *Greek Church*, though they esteem the *Greeks* both Hereticks and Schismatics: Thus there were many questions put in among the Articles of the Visitation, yet these were asked only for form, the main business was Heresie, and the performing all Offices according to the old customes: and the least failing in these matters, was more severely enquired after, and more exemplarily punished, than far greater offences. *Bonier* carried himself like a Madman, and it was said by his friends, to excuse the Violences of his rage, that his brains were a little disordered by his long Imprisonment: for if either the Bells had not rung, when he came near any Church, or if he had not found the Sacrament exposed, he was apt to break out into the foulest language: and not content with that, he was accustomed to beat his Clergy, when he was displeased with any thing: for he was naturally cruel and brutal. He took care to have those places of Scripture, that had been painted on the Walls of the Churches to be washed off: and upon this it was said, that it was necessary to dash out the Scripture, to make way for Images, for they agreed so ill, that they could not decently stand together. Many mock Poems and Satires were flying up and down; but none was more provoking, than one that followed on an Accident at *Saint Pauls* on *Easter-Day*: The custom was to lay the Host in the Sepulchre at Even-

Song



Song, on Good-Friday, and to take it out on Easter Morning; and the Quire Sung these words, *He is risen, he is not here*, when it was taken out: but when they lookt to take it out, they found it was not there indeed, for one had stollen it away, but another was quickly brought; so a Ballad was made, that their God was lost, but a new one was put in his room: Great pains were taken to discover the Author of this, but he was not found.

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The Queens third Parliament met on the 11th. of November: In the Writ of Summons the Queens Title of *Supream Head* was left out, though she had hitherto not only used the name, but had assumed the power Imported by it, to a high degree. *Pool* was now suffered to come so near as *Flanders*; and the Temper of the Parliament being quickly found to be favourable to the work he came for, the Queen sent two Lords, *Paget* and *Hastings* for him. Both King and Queen rode in state to *Westminster*, and each had a Sword of state carried before them. The first Bill that pass, was a Repeal of *Pool's* Attainder, it was read by the Commons three times in one Day; and the Bill was passed without making a Session by a short Prorogation. He came over, and entred privately to *London*, on the 24th. of November, for the *Pope's* authority not being yet acknowledged, he could not be received as a Legate. His Instructions were full, besides the authority commonly lodg-

Another Parliament.

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ed with Legates; which consists chiefly in the many Graces and Dispensations, that they are impowered to grant; though it might be expected, that they should come rather to see the Canons obeyed, than broken: only the more scandalous abuses were still reserved to the Popes themselves, whose special Prerogative it has always been, to be the most Eminent Transgressors of all Canons and Constitutions.

The Nation is reconciled to the See of Rome.

Pool made his first Speech to the King and Queen, and then to the Parliament, in the Name of the Common Pastor, inviting them to Return to the Sheepfold of the Church. The Queen felt a strange emotion of joy within her, as he made his Speech, which she thought was a Child quickned in her Belly: and the flattering Court Ladies heightned her belief of it. The Council ordered Bonner to sing *Te Deum*; and there were Bonfires, and all other publick demonstrations of joy upon it. The Priests said, that here was another *John Baptist* to come, that leapt in his Mother's Belly, upon the Salutation from Christ's Vicar. Both Houses agreed on an Address to the King and Queen, that they would intercede with the Legate, to reconcile them to the See of Rome, and they offered to repeal all the Laws they had made against the Pope's authority, in sign of their repentance. Upon this, the Cardinal came to the Parliament: He first thanked them for repealing his Attainder, in recompence of which, he was

was now to reconcile them to the Body of the Church: He made a long Speech, of the Conversion of the *Britains* and *Saxons* to the Faith, and of the Obedience they had payed to the Apostolick See; and of the many favours that See had granted the Crown, of which none was more Eminent than the Title of *Defender of the Faith*. The ruine of the *Greek Church*, and the distractions of *Germany*, and the Confusions themselves had been in, since they departed from the Unity of the Church, might convince them of the necessity of keeping that bond entire. In Conclusion, he gave them and the whole Nation a Plenary Absolution. The rest of the Day was spent in singing *Te Deum*, and the Night in Bonfires. The Act, repealing all Laws made against the *Pope's* authority, was quickly past, only it stuck a little, by reason of a Proviso, which the House of Lords put in for some Lands, which the Lord *Wentworth* had of the See of *London*, and the Commons opposed so much, that after the Bill was offered to the Royal assent, it was cut out of the Parchment by *Gardiner*. They did enumerate and repeal all Acts made since the 20th. of *Hen. 8.* against the *Pope's* authority, but all foundations of Bishopricks and Cathedrals, all Marriages, tho' contrary to the Laws of the Church, all Institutions, all Judicial Processes, and the settlements made, either of Church or *Abbey Lands*, were confirmed. The Convocation of *Canterbury* had joyned their Intercession with the Cardinal, that he

would

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‘ would confirm the right of the present Possessors of those Lands: Upon which he did confirm them, but he added a heavy charge, requiring those that had any of the Goods of the Church, to remember the Judgments of God that fell on *Belsazar*, for profaning the holy Vessels, though they were not taken away by himself, but by his Father; and that, at least, they would take care, that such as served the Cures should be sufficiently maintained: all which was put in the Act, and confirmed by it, and it was declared, that all Suits concerning those Lands were to be tried in the Civil Courts: and that it should be a *Premunire*, if any went about to disturb the Possessors, by the pretence of an Ecclesiastical power. They also declared, that the Title of *Supream Head of the Church*, did never of right belong to the Crown; & enacted that it should be left out of Writs in all time coming. All Exemptions granted to Monasteries, and now continued in Lay-hands, were taken away, and all Churches were made subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction, except *Westminster*, *Windsor*, and the *Tower of London*. The statute of Mortmain was repealed for 20 years to come, and all things were brought back to the state in which they were, in the 20th. year of King *Henry*’s reign. The Lower House of Convocation gave occasion to many clauses in this Act, by a Petition which they made to the Upper-house, ‘consenting to the settlement made of Church and  
‘ *Abbey*



Abbey Lands; and praying that the Statute of Mortmain might be repealed, and that all the Tithes might be restored to the Church: they proposed also some things in relation to Religion, for the condemning and burning all Heretical Books; and that great care should be had of the Printing and venting of Books, that the Church should be restored to its former Jurisdiction, that Pluralities and Non-residence might be effectually condemned, and all Simoniackal pactions punished, that the Clergy might be discharged of paying first-fruits and Tenths, that Exemptions might be taken away, that all the Clergy should go in their Habits, and that they should not be sued in a *Præmunire*, till a Prohibition were first served and disobeyed, that so they might not be surpris'd and ruined a second time. By another Bill all former Acts made against *Lollards* were revived. The Commons offered another Bill for voiding all Leases made by married Priests, but it was laid aside by the Lords. Thus were the Pensioners and aspiring Men in the House of Commons, either redeeming former faults, or hoping to merit highly by the forwardness of their Zeal. By another Bill several things were made Treason: and it was declared, that if the Queen died before the King, and left any Children, the King should have the Government in his hands, till they were of Age; and during that time the conspiring his Death was made Treason, but none were to be tried

for

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*Gardiner's  
policy in  
the steps  
of this  
change.*

\*for words, but within six Months after they were spoken. Another Act past, declaring it Treason in any to pray for the Queens death, unless they repented of it, and in that case they were to suffer Corporal punishment at the Judges discretion. A severe Act was also passed against all that spread lying Reports of the King, the Queen, the Peers, Judges, or great Officers. Some were to lose their Hands, others their Ears, and others were to be fined according to the degree of their offence.

And thus all affairs were carried in Parliament, as well as the Court could wish: and upon this, *Gardiner's* reputation was much raised, for bringing about so great a change in so little time, with so little opposition. He took much pains to remove all the Objections, that were generally made use of: they were chiefly two, the one was the fear of coming under such Tyranny from *Rome*, as their Ancestors had groaned under; and the other was the loss of the *Abbey-Lands*. But to the first, he said, that all the old Laws against Provisions from *Rome*, should still continue in force: and to shew them, that Legates should exercise no dangerous authority in *England*, he made *Pool* take out a Licence, under the Great Seal, for his Legatine power. As for the other, he promised both an Act of Parliament, and Convocation, confirming them, and undertook that the *Pope* should ratifie these, as well as his Legate did now consent to them. But to all this, it was answer.


answered, that if the Nation were again brought under the old Superstition, and the Papal authority established, it would not be possible to bridle that power, which would be no longer kept within limits, if once they became Masters again, and brought the World under a blind obedience. It was objected, that the Church-Lands must be certainly taken back, it was not likely the *Pope* would confirm the alienation of them; but though he should do it, yet his Successors might annul that as sacrilegious. And it was observed in the charge, which *Pool* gave to all, to make restitution; & by the repeal of the statute of Mortmain, that it was intended to possess the Nation with an Opinion of the Unlawfulness of keeping those Lands, which would probably work much on Men that were near death, and could not resist the terrours of Purgatory, or perhaps of Hell, for the sin of Sacrilege: and so would be easily induced to make restitution of them, especially at such a time when they were not able to possess them any longer themselves.

Now the Parliament was at an end: and the first thing taken into consideration, was, what way they ought to proceed against the Hereticks. *Pool* had been suspected to bear some favour to them formerly, but he took great care to avoid all occasions of being any more blamed for that: and indeed he lived in that distrust of all the *English*, that he opened his thoughts to very few: for his chief

Consultations about the way of proceeding against Hereticks.

Confidants


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Confidents were two *Italians* that came over with him, *Priuli* and *Ormaneto*. Secretary *Cecyl*, who in matters of Religion complied with the present time, was observed to have more of his favour than any *English* Man had. *Pool* was an Enemy to all severe proceedings, he thought Churchmen should have the tenderness of a Father, and the care of a Shepherd, and ought to reduce, but not devour the stray sheep: he had observed that Cruelty rather inflamed than cured that Distemper: he thought the better and surer way, was to begin with an effectual Reformation of the manners of the Clergy, since it was the scandals given by their ill conduct and Ignorance, that was the chief cause of the growth of Heresie: so he concluded, that if a Primitive Discipline should be revived, the Nation would by degrees lay down their prejudices, and might in time be gained by gentle methods. *Gardiner*, on the other hand, being of an abject and cruel temper himself, thought the strict execution of the Laws against the *Lollards*, was that to which they ought chiefly to trust: if the *Preachers* were made publick Examples, he concluded the People would be easily reclaimed: for he pretended, that it was visible, if King *Henry* had executed the Act of the six Articles vigorously, all would have submitted: he confessed a Reformation of the Clergy was a good thing, but all times could not bear it: if they should proceed severely against scandalous Church-



Churchmen, the Hereticks would take advantage from that, to defame the Church the more, and raise a clamour against all Clergymen. *Gardiner's* spite was at this time much whetted by the reprinting of his Books of true Obedience, which was done at *Strasburg*, and sent over. In it he had called King *Henry's* marriage with Queen *Catherine*, *Incestuous*, and had justified his Divorce, and his *second Marriage with his most godly and vertuous Wife, Queen Anne*. This was a severe exposing of him, but he had brow enough, and bore down these reproaches, by saying *Peter* had denied his Master: but others said a Compliance of 25 years continuance was very unjustly compared to a sudden denial, that was presently expiated with so sincere a Repentance. The Queen was for joining both these Councils together, and intended to proceed at the same time, both against scandalous Churchmen and Hereticks. After the Parliament was over, there was a solemn Procession of many Bishops and Priests, *Bonner* carrying the Host, to thank God for reconciling the Nation again to Saint *Peter's* Chair; and it having been done on St. *Andrew's* Day, that was appointed to be an Anniversary, and was called *The Feast of the Reconciliation*.

But soon after began the Persecution: 1555. *Rogers, Hooper, Taylor, Bradford*, and seven more were brought before the Council, and asked one by one, if they would return

A Persecution set on foot.

turn to the Union of the Catholick Church, and acknowledge the *Pope*: but they all answered resolutely, that they had renounced the *Pope's* power, as all the Bishops had also done; they were assured he had no authority, but over his own Diocess, for the first four Ages, so they could not submit to his Tyranny. *Gardiner* told them, Mercy was now offered them, but if they rejected it, Justice would be done next: so they were all sent back to Prison, except one, who had great Friends, so he was only asked, if he would be an honest man, and upon that promise was dismiss. They began with *Rogers*, whose Imprisonment was formerly mentioned. Many had advised him to make his escape, and flee to *Germany*: but he would not do it, though a Family of Ten Children was a great Temptation.

*Rogers* and  
*Hooper*  
condem-  
ned, and  
burnt.

Both he and *Hooper* were brought before *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstall*, and three other Bishops. They asked them whether they would submit to the Church, or not? but they answered, that they looked on the Church of *Rome*, as Antichristian. *Gardiner* said, that was a reproach on the *Queen*. *Rogers* said, they honoured the *Queen*, and lookt for no ill at her hands, but as she was set on to it by them; Upon that *Gardiner*, and the other Bishops declared, that so far were they from setting on the *Queen* to the executing of the Law, that she commanded them to do it, and this was confirmed by two Privy Councillours that were present.

present. In conclusion, they gave them time till next Morning to consider what they would do, and then they continuing firm, they declared them obstinate Hereticks, and degraded them: but they did not esteem *Hooper* a Bishop, so he was only degraded from the Order of Priesthood. *Rogers* was not suffered to see his Wife nor his Children, yet so little did this terrible sentence fright him, that the morning of his Execution, he was so fast asleep, that he was not easily awakened: He was carried from *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, on the 4th. of February, a Pardon was offered him at the stake, if he would recant, but he refused it on such terms; and said he would not exchange a quick fire for Everlasting burnings, but declared that he resigned up his Life with joy, as a testimony to the Doctrine which he had preached. *Hooper* was sent to *Gloster*, at which he rejoyced, for he hoped by his death to confirm many there. He spake to several, whom he had formerly known, some of them, in compassion to him, wept by him, which made him shed tears; but he said, all he had suffered in his imprisonment, had not moved him to do so much: he was burnt on the 9th. of February: a Pardon was also offered him at the Stake, but to no effect. A great Wind blew while he was burning, and hindered the Flame to rise up and choke him, or destroy his Vitals; so that he was near three quarters of an hour in great Torment, but he continued still calling on

T

God,

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God; his last words were, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* *Sanders*, that had been Minister at *Coventry*, and *Taylor* that was Minister at *Hadly*, were at the same time condemned, and sent to be burnt at the places where they had served; The former was first committed for preaching without Licence, after the Queens Prohibition; and the latter for making opposition to some Priests, that broke violently into his Church, and said Mass in it. *Gardiner* was in hope, that these four Executions being made in several parts of *England*, would have struck so general a terrour in the whole Party, that there would have been little occasion for further severities: but when he saw six more were soon after apprehended on the same account, and that the spirits of those, call'd *Hereticks*, were now rather inflam'd than depressed, he resolved to meddle no more in those Trials; and turned over that Invidious matter to *Bonner*, whose temper was so cruel, that he undertook it cheerfully.

The burnings much condemned.

These severities were very hateful to the Nation. It was observed, that in King *Edward's* time, those that opposed the Laws, were only turned out of their Benefices, and some few of them were put in Prison; but now Men were put in Prison on trifling pretences, and kept there till Laws were made, by which they were condemned meerly for their Opinion, for they had acted nothing contrary to Law. One Piece of Cruelty was also singular: when the Council



cil sent away those that were to be burnt in  
 the Countrey, they threatned to cut out  
 their Tongues, if they would not promise  
 to make no Speeches to the People; which  
 they, to avoid that butchery, were forced  
 to promise. Some made reflections on the  
 length and sharpness of *Hooper's* Torment,  
 as a punishment on him, for the contest he  
 had raised in the Church about the Vest-  
 ments: *Ridley* and he had been entirely re-  
 conciled, and writ very affectionate Letters  
 to one another. The sense they had of  
 those differences, when they were preparing  
 for another World, and that bitter pas-  
 sage, through which they were to go to it,  
 ought to inspire all others with more mode-  
 rate thoughts in such matters. Those that lo-  
 ved the Reformation, were now possessed  
 with great aversion to the Popish Party, and  
 the whole Body of the Nation grew to dis-  
 like this Cruelty; and came to hate King  
*Philip* for it. *Gardiner*, and the other Coun-  
 cellours had openly said, that the Queen  
 set them on to it, so the blame of it was  
 laid on the King, the fowreness of whose  
 temper, together with his bigotry in mat-  
 ters of Religion, made it seem reasonable  
 to charge him with it. He finding that  
 this was like to raise such prejudices against  
 him, as might probably spoil his design of  
 making himself Master of *England*, took  
 care to vindicate himself. So his Confessor  
*Alphonfus*, a *Franciscan*, preached a Sermon  
 at Court, against the taking of Peoples lives  
 for Opinions in Religion; and Inveighed  
 T 2 against

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against the Bishops for doing it: By this the blame of it was turned back on them, and this made them stop for some Weeks; but at last they resolved rather to bear the blame of the Persecution avowedly, than not to go on in it.

Arguments against them, and for them.

At this time a Petition was printed beyond Sea; by which the Reformers addressed themselves to the Queen, they set before her the danger of her being carried by a blind zeal, to destroy the Members of *Christ*, as *St. Paul* had done before his Conversion: they remembred her of *Cranmer's* interposing to preserve her Life in her Fathers time: they cited many Passages out of the Books of *Gardiner*, *Bonner* and *Tonstall*, by which she might see that they were not acted by true Principles of Conscience, but were turned as their Fears or Interests led them. They shewed her how contrary Persecution was to the spirit of the Gospel; that Christians tolerated *Jews*; and that *Turks*, notwithstanding the barbarity of their tempers, and the Cruelty of their Religion, yet tolerated Christians. They remembred her, that the first Law for burning in *England*, was made by *Henry the IV.* as a reward to the Bishops, who had helped him to depose *Richard* the second, and so to mount to the Throne. They represented to her, that God had trusted her with the Sword, which she ought to imploy for the protection of her People, & was not to abandon them to the Cruelty of such Wolves: The

Petition

Petition also turned to the Nobility, and rest of the Nation, and the dangers of a *Spanish* Yoke, and a bloody Inquisition were set before them. Upon this the *Popish* Authors writ several Books in Justification of those proceedings. They observed that the *Jews* were commanded to put blasphemers to death; and said the Hereticks blasphemed the Body of Christ, and called it only a piece of Bread. It became Christians to be more zealous for the true Religion, than Heathens were for the false: Saint *Peter*, by a Divine Power, struck *Ananias* and *Saphira* dead. Christ, in the Parable, said, *Compel them to enter in*. Saint *Paul* said, *I would they were cut off that trouble you*. Saint *Austin* was once against all severities in such cases, but changed his mind, when he saw the good effects that some Banishments and Fines had on the *Donatists*: That on which they insisted most, was, the burning of *Anabaptists* in King *Edward's* time. So they were now fortified in their cruel Intentions, and resolved to spare none, of what Age, Sex, or condition soever they might be.

*Bonner* kept one *Tomkins*, a Weaver, some Months in his House, who was found to doubt of the Presence in the Sacrament, he used divers Violences to him, as the tearing out the Hair of his Beard, and the holding a Candle to his Hand, till the Veins and Sinews burst; and these not prevailing, to make him change, he was

at last burnt in *Smithfield*. One *Hunter*, an Apprentice, not above XIX. Years old, was condemned and burnt on the same account. *Bonner* was so much concerned to preserve him, that he offered him *Forty Pound* to change: so mercenary did he think other Mens consciences were, measuring them probably by his own. Two Gentlemen, *Canston* and *Higbed*, one *Lawrence* a Priest, and two meaner Persons, were burnt near their own Houses in *Essex*. The Method in these, and in all the other proceedings, during the rest of this reign, was summary, and *ex officio*: Upon complaints made, Persons were imprisoned, and Articles containing the Points, for which they were suspected, were offered to them, which they were required to answer; and if their answers were Heretical, they were burnt for them, without any thing being objected to them, or proved against them. *Ferrar*, that had been Bishop of *S. David*, was dealt with in the same manner, by his Successor *Morgan*. When he was condemned, he appealed to Cardinal *Pool*, but that had no other effect, save, that his Execution was stopt three Weeks. *Rawlins White*, a poor Fisherman, was condemned by the Bishop of *Landaffe*, and afterwards burnt: *Marsh* a Priest, was burnt at *Chester*; and to the ordinary Cruelty of burning, they added a new Invention of pouring melted Pitch on his Head. One *Flower*, a rash and furious Man, wounded a Priest at *S. Margaret's Westminster*, as he was



was officiating; for which being seized on, and found to be an Heretick, he was condemned and burnt. The fact was disapproved by all the Reformed, and he became sincerely Penitent for it, before he died. After this, for some Weeks, there was a stop put to those severities.

The Queen about this time sent for her Treasurer, and some of the other Officers of her Revenue, and told them, that she thought her self bound in Conscience to restore all the Lands of the Church, that were then in her hands; she thought they were unlawfully acquired, and that they could not be held by her without a sin, therefore she declared she would have them disposed of, as Cardinal *Pool* should think fit. Some imputed this to a Bull set out by the *Pope*, excommunicating all that kept any Lands belonging to Abbies or Churches: This alarmed many in *England*, but *Gardiner* pacified them, and told them, that Bull was made only for *Germany*, and that no Bull did bind in *England*, till it was received. But this did not satisfy Inquisitive People, for a sin in *Germany* was likewise a sin in *England*, and if the *Pope's* authority came from Christ, it ought to take place every where equally.

The Queen restores the Church-Lands.

*Pope Julius* died in *March*, and *Marcellus* Marcellus chosen was chosen to succeed him: he turned his thoughts wholly to the Reformation of abuses: He suffered none of his Nephews, *Pope. Paul the IV. succeeds.*

nor Kindred to come to Court, and resolved effectually to put down Non-residence and Pluralities: but he found it very difficult to bring about the good designs he had projected, and that the *Popes* power was such, that it was more easie for him to do mischief, than good: which made him once cry out, That he did not see how any could be saved, that sat in that Chair. These things wrought so much on him, that he sickned within Twelve Days of his Election, and died Ten Days after that. Upon his death, the Queen endeavoured to engage the *French* to consent to the Promotion of Cardinal *Pool*, which she did without his knowledge or approbation: but at *Rome* they were so apprehensive of another *Pope* set on Reformation, that they made haste in their choice; and set up *Caraffa*, called *Paul* the Fourth, who was the most extravagantly ambitious and insolent *Pope*, that had reigned of a great while.

The English Ambassadors come to Rome.

On the day of his Election, the *English* Ambassadors entred *Rome* in great state, having in their Train 140. Horse of their own Attendants, but the *Pope* would not admit them to an Audience, till they had accepted of a Grant of the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; for he pretended it belonged only to him to confer those Titles. The Ambassadors, it seems, knew it was the Queen's mind, that they should in every thing submit to the *Pope*, and so took that grant from him. Their Publick Audience was

was given in great Solemnity, in which the *Pope* declared, that in token of his pardoning the Nation, 'he had added to the Crown the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by that Supream Power which God had given him to destroy, or to build Kingdomes at his pleasure. But in private discourse, he complained much, that the *Abbey-Lands* were not restored. He said it was beyond his power to confirm Sacrilege, and all were obliged, under the pains of damnation, to restore to the last farthing, every thing that belonged to the Church: he said likewise, that he would send over a Collector to gather the *Peter-Pence*, for they could not expect that *St. Peter* would open Heaven to them, so long as they denied him his rights upon Earth. These were heavy tidings to the Lord *Mountmaurice*, (Sir *Anthony Brown*), whose Estate consisted chiefly of *Abbey-Lands*, that was one of the Ambassadors. But the *Pope* would endure no contradiction, and repeated this every time they came to him.

In *England*, Orders were sent to the Justices to look narrowly to the Preachers of Heresie, and to have secret Spies in every Parish, for giving them Information of all Peoples behaviour. This was imputed to the sowness of *Spanish* Councils, and seemed to be taken from that base practice of the *Roman* Emperours, that had their Informers (or *Delatores*) that went into all Companies, and accommodated themselves to all Men's Tempers, till they had drawn them

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The English grow backward in the Persecution.

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them into some discourses against the State, and thereby ruined them. People grew so averse to Cruelty, that *Bonner* himself finding how odious he was become, and observing the slackness of the other Bishops, refused not to meddle any further, and burnt none in five Weeks time: Upon which the Queen writ to him, and required him to do the Office of a good Pastor, and either to reclaim the Hereticks, or to proceed against them according to Law: and he quickly shewed how ready he was to mend his pace, upon such an admonition.

The  
Queens  
delivery  
in vain  
lookt for.

In the beginning of *May*, the Court was in expectation of the Queen's Delivery. The Envoys were named, that were to carry the good News to the neighbouring Courts: the tidings of it did flye over *England*, and *Te Deum* was sung upon it in severall Cathedrals. But it proved to be a false conception, and all hopes of Issue by her, vanished. This tended much to alienate King *Philip* from her; and he finding it more necessary to look after his Hereditary Crowns, than to stay in *England*, where he had no hopes of making himself Master, left her, and that increased her Melancholy.

More He-  
rericks  
burnt.

New Fires were kindled. *Cardmaker*, that had been a Prebendary at *Barth*, and *Warne* a Tradesman, were burnt in *Smithfield*, in *May*. The body of one that suffered for Robbery, but at his Execution said some-  
what



what favouring of Heresie, was burnt for it. Seven were burnt in several parts of *Essex*. They were condemned by *Banner*, and sent down to be burnt near the places of their abode. The Council writ to the Great Men of the County, to gather many together, and assist at those Spectacles: and when they heard that some had come of their own accord to the burnings at *Colchester*, they writ to the Lord *Rich* to give their thanks to those Persons for their Zeal, so dexterously did they study to cherish a spirit of Cruelty among the People. *Bradford*, who had been committed soon after he had saved *Bourne* in the Tumult at *Saint Paul's*, had been condempned with the rest, and was preserved till *July*. He was so much considered, that *Heath* Archbishop of *York*, and *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Weston* and *Harpfield*, with the King's Confessor, and *Alphonsius à Castro* went to see, if they could prevail on him, and had long Conferences with him in Prison, but all to no purpose. *Bourn* was made Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and his Brother was Secretary of State; but though *Bradford* had preserved his life, yet he neither came to visit him, nor did he interpose for his life; on the contrary, it was objected to *Bradford*, that by his carriage in suppressing that Tumult, it appeared that he had set it on: but he appealed to God, who saw how unworthily they returned him evil for good: and he appealed to *Bourn*, who was sitting among the Bishops that judged him, if he had not prayed

ed him for the Passion of Christ to endeavour his preservation; and if he had not done it, at the hazard of his own Life: But *Bourn*, as he was ashamed to accule him, so he had not the honesty, nor the courage to vindicate him: a young Apprentice was burnt with him, whom he encouraged much in his sufferings, and in transports of joy, he hugged the Faggots that were laid about him. *Thornton*, *Hartfield*, and others, set on a Persecution at *Canterbury*, though Cardinal *Pool* was averse to it, but he durst not now discover so much, for the Pope had an inveterate hatred to him, and was resolved upon the first occasion to recall him, and for that end, he entred in a Correspondence with *Gardiner*, who hoped thereby to have been made a Cardinal, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*: and upon the hopes he had of that, he still preserved *Cranmer*, for though he was now condemned for Heresie, yet the See was not esteemed void, till he was formally degraded. Some said it was fit to begin with him, that had been the chief promoter of Heresie in *England*. But *Gardiner* said, it was better to try if it could be possible to shake him, for it would be a great blow to the whole Party, if he could be wrought on to forsake it, whereas if he should be burnt, and should dye with such resolution as others expressed, it would much raise the spirits of his followers. The See of *Canterbury* was now only sequestred in *Pool*'s hands, and

and he being afraid of falling under the Pope's rage, was willing to let the cruel Prebendaries do what they pleased. They burnt two Priests, and two Laymen at *Ganterbury*, and sent a Man and a Woman to be burnt in other Places in *Kent*. Two that belonged to the Dioces of *Winchester* and *Chichester* were condemned by *Bonner*, and were burnt near the places of their abode. There were at this time several pretended discoveries of Plots both in *Dorsetshire* and *Essex*: and Orders were given to draw Confessions from some that were apprehended, by Torture, but the thing was let fall, for it was grounded only on the surmises of the Clergy.

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The Queen was this Year rebuilding the House of the *Franciscans* at *Greenwich*, and had recalled *Peyto* and *Elston*, of which mention was made, *Book 1. pag. 117.* the one she made her Confessor, and the other was to be Guardian of that House: The People expressed such hatred of them, that as they were passing upon the River, some threw stones at them: but they that did it, could not be discovered. Judge *Rastall* published *Sir Tho. More's Works* at this time; but as was formerly observed, he left out his Letter concerning the Nun of *Kent*; though it lies among his other Letters, in that very Manuscript, out of which he published them. He prefixed nothing concerning *More's Life*, to his Works, which makes it highly probable, that he never

Religious  
Houses  
set up.

*More's*  
Works  
published.

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never writ it: for this was the proper time and place for publishing it, if he had ever writ it. So that Manuscript life of *Mores*, pretended to be writ by him, out of which many things have been quoted since that time, to the disgrace of King *Henry*, and *Anne Boleyn*, must be a later forgery contrived in spite to Queen *Elizabeth*. 'The Queen did now go on with her Intentions, 'of founding Religious Houses out of those 'Abbey-Lands, that were still in the Crown. 'She recommended it also to the Councils 'care, that every where there might be 'good Preaching, and that there might be 'a Visitation of the Universities: she desired that Justice might be done on the Hereticks, in such a manner, that the People might be well satisfied about it, and prest them to take care, that there might be no Pluralities in *England*, and that the Preachers might give good Example, as well as make good Sermons.

The burnings went on: Seven were burnt in *August* in several places; six more were burnt in one fire at *Canterbury*, and four were burnt in other places, but the particular days are not marked. In *September* five were burnt at *Canterbury*, and seven in other places. In *October* two were burnt at *Ely*, by *Shaxton's* means, who now completed his Apostasie by his Cruelty. The 16th of that month became remarkable by the sufferings of *Ridley* and *Latimer*. Three Bishops, *Lincoln*, *Gloucester* and *Bristol* were sent with a Commission from Cardinal *Pool*,

*Ridley* and  
*Latimer*  
are burnt.



to proceed against them. *Ridley* said, he payed great respect to *Pool* as he was of the Royal Family, and esteemed him much for his Learning and Vertues, but as he was the Popes Legate, he would expresse no reverence to him, nor would uncover himself before any that acted by authority from him. The Bishop of *Lincoln* exhorted him, 'To return to the obedience of the 'See of *S. Peter*, on whom Christ had 'founded his Church, to which the Ancient 'Fathers had submitted, and which himself 'had once acknowledged: He began his answer with a Protestation, 'That he did not 'thereby submit to the authority of the Pope 'or his Legate; he said Christ had founded 'his Church not on *St. Peter*, but on the 'Faith which he had confessed: The Bishops of *Rome* had been held in great 'esteem, but that was either on the account of their personal worth, or by reason of the dignity of the City: He confessed he had once been involved in that 'superstition; but *St. Paul* was once a 'Blasphemer: And he had discovered such 'errors in that See, that he would never 'acknowledge it any more. *Latimer* adhered to what he said. A nights respite was granted them; but they continuing stedfast next day, they were condemned as obstinate Hereticks, and delivered to the Secular Arm, and the Writs were sent down for their burning. They prepared themselves for it with such patience and cheerfulness as very much amazed their Keepers: As they

they were led out, they lookt up to *Cra-*  
 Book III *mer's* Window, but he was not in it, for  
 he was then held in dispute by some Friars;  
 1555. yet he lookt after them, with a very tender  
 sense of their condition, and prayed ear-  
 nestly to God to assist them in their suffer-  
 ings. When they came to the Stake, they  
 embraced and encouraged one another.  
*Smith* preached on those words, *If I give*  
*my body to be burnt, and have not Charity it*  
*profiteth nothing*: And he compared their  
 dying for Heresie, to *Judas's* that hanged  
 himself. *Ridley* desired leave to answer  
 some points in his Sermon; but it was told  
 him, that he was not to be suffer'd to speak,  
 except he intended to recant: So he turn-  
 ed himself to God, when he saw men were  
 resolved to be so unreasonable to him.  
 He sent a desire to the Queen, in behalf of  
 the Tenants of the Bishoprick of *London*,  
 from whom he had taken Fines, for which  
 he had renewed their Leases; and prayed  
 that either their Leases might be confirm-  
 ed, or that their Fines might be restored  
 out of his goods, which had been seized  
 on when he was first put in prison: After  
 both had prayed, and undressed themselves,  
 the fire was kindled. Some Gun-powder  
 was hanged about their necks, and that  
 being fired, put *Latimer* quickly out of his  
 pain; but *Ridley* had a more lingring tor-  
 ment: For they threw on so much wood  
 that it was long before the flame broke  
 through it; and his Legs were almost  
 wholly consumed before the flame choaked  
 him.

him. Thus did these two Bishops end their days and their Ministry: The one was esteemed to be the ablest of all that advanced the Reformation, both for Piety, Learning, and solidity of Judgement; the other was lookt on as a truly Primitive Bishop, that seemed to have more of the simplicity of the first Ages, than the politeness or the learning of later times. *Ridley* was ill rewarded both by *Bonner* and *Heath*; he had used *Bonner's* Mother and Friends with great kindness, while he was Bishop of *London*; and had kept the latter a year and a half in his house, after he fell into trouble, but he made him ill returns; and when he went through *Oxford* he did not so much as visit him: And so far had men been taught to put off all humanity, that during their Imprisonment in *Oxford*, none of the University either came to visit them, or took care to relieve their necessities.

It was observed that *Gardiner* was very impatient to have those Bishops burnt, and *Gardiner's death.* delayed his dinner that day till the news should be brought him, that the Fire was kindled: But at dinner he was taken with an illness, which turned to a suppression of Urine, of which he died the twelfth of *November*. He went twice to the Parliament which was opened the twenty first of *October*, but could go abroad no more; he expressed great sorrow for his former sins, and often said, *He had erred with St. Peter, but had not repented with him.* He was believed

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ved to be of noble extraction, though basely born; for his true father was supposed to be *Richard Woodvill*, that was Brother to *Edward* the Fourth's Queen, Grand-mother to King *Henry* the Eighth: And this was believed to be the occasion of his sudden preferment to the See of *Winchester*. So those that reflected on him for his opposition to the Married state, said that no wonder if persons basely born, as both he and *Bonner* were, had no regard to that state of life. He was learned in the Civil and Canon Law; he had a good *Latin* stile, and had some knowledge in the *Greek* Tongue, but was a very indifferent Divine: He had a quickness of apprehension, with a great knowledge of mankind, and the Intrigues of Courts: He had all the arts of Insinuation and Flattery, and was inferiour to none in profound Dissimulation. He died now when he had the prospect of a Cardinals Hat, and of all the honours which a Pope, that found him after his own heart, could do him. *Heath* was made Chancellour during pleasure, and the Queen gave to the See of *Tork* the Duke of *Suffolk's* house, fallen to her by his Attainder, in recompence for *White-hall*, and it was afterwards called *Tork-Hause*.

The Parliament ill pleased with the Queens conduct.

The Parliament was now assembled, and it appeared that the Nation was much turned in their affections. It was proposed to give the Queen a Subsidy, and two fifteenths. This was the first aid that the Queen had



had asked, though she was now in the third year of her Reign; and what was now desired, was no more than what she might have exacted at her first coming to the Crown; and since she had forgiven so much at her Coronation, it seemed unreasonable to deny it now: Yet great opposition was made to it. Many said, the Queen was impoverishing the Crown, and giving away the Abbey-Lands, and therefore she ought to be supplied by the Clergy, and not turn to the Laity: But it was answered, that the Convocation had given her 6*s.* in the pound, but that would not serve her present occasions; so the debate grew high: But to prevent further heats the Queen sent a Message, declaring that she would accept the Subsidy without the fifteenths, and upon that it was granted. The Queen sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him she could not with a good Conscience exact the Tenths and First fruits of the Clergy, since they were given to her Father to support his unlawful dignity, of being the *Supream Head of the Church*: She also thought, that all Tythes and Improvements were the Patrimony of the Church, and therefore was resolved to resign such of them as were in her hands. The former part past easily in the House, but great opposition was made to the latter part of her motion: for it was lookt on as a step to the taking all the impropriations out of the hands of the Laity; yet upon a division of the House, it went so near that

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were against it, and 193 were for it, so it was carried by 67 voices. A Bill was put in against the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, and ſeveral others that favoured the Reformation, and had gone beyond Sea that they might freely enjoy their Conſciences; requiring them to return, under ſevere penalties: The Lords paſt it, but the Commons threw it out; for they began now to repent of the ſevere Laws they had already conſented to, and reſolved to add no more. They alſo rejected another Bill, for incapacitating ſome to be Juſtices of Peace, who were complained of for their remiſſneſs in proſecuting Hereticks. An Act was put in for debarring one *Bennet Smith*, who had hired ſome Aſſaſſinates to commit a moſt deteſtable Murder, from the benefit of Clergy; which by the courſe of the Common Law, would have ſaved him. This was an invention of the Prieſts, that if any, who was capable of entering into Orders, and had not been twice married, or had not married a Widow, could read, and vowed to take Orders, he was to be ſaved in many criminal caſes. And it was looked on as a part of the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity; which made diſſenſe of the Biſhops oppoſe this Act; Yet it paſt, though four of them, and five Temporal Lords proteſted againſt it. There was ſuch heat in the Houſe of Commons in this Parliament, that one Sir *Anth. Kingſton*, who was a great ſtickler, called one day for the Keys of the Houſe; but when the Parliament was diſſolved, he

was sent to the *Tower* for it: He was soon after set at liberty, but next year he and six others, were accused of a design of robbing the Exchequer: He died before he was brought up to *London*; the other six were hanged: But the Evidence against them does not appear on Record.

Cardinal *Pool* called a Convocation, having first procured a Licence from the Queen, empowering them both to meet, and to make such Canons as they should think fit. This was done to preserve the Prerogatives of the Crown, and to secure the Clergy, that they might not be afterwards brought under a *Præmunire*. In it several decrees were proposed by *Pool*, and assented to by the Clergy: 1. For observing the Feast of the Reconciliation made with *Rome*, with great solemnity: They also condemned all Heretical Books, and received that exposition of the Faith which Pope *Eugenius* sent from the Council of *Florence* to the *Armenians*. 2. For the decent administration of the Sacraments, and putting down the yearly Feasts in the dedications of Churches. 3. They required all Bishops and Priests to lay aside Secular cares, and to give themselves wholly to the Pastoral charge: And all Pluralists were required to resign all their benefices except one, within two months, otherwise to forfeit all. 4. Bishops were required to preach often, and to provide good Preachers for their Dioceses, to go over them as their Visitors. 5. All the Pomp and Luxury of the

*Pool's* decrees for the Reformation of the Clergy.

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Tables, Servants, and Families of the Bishops was condemned; and they were required chiefly to lay out their Revenues on works of Charity. 6. They were required not to give Orders, but after a long and strict Trial; which they ought to make themselves, and not to turn it over to others. 7. They were charged not to bestow Benefices upon partial regards, but to confer them on the most deserving, and to take them bound by Oath, to reside upon them. 8. Against giving Advowsons before Benefices fell vacant. 9. Against Symony. 10. Against Dilapidations. 11. For Seminaries in every Cathedral for the Diocess; and the Clergy were taxed in a fourth part of their Benefices for their maintenance: The twelfth was about Visitations.

It was designed also to set out four Books of Homilies: The first for points of Controversie; the second was for the exposition of the Creed, the Lords Prayer, the ten Commandments, the *Ave*, and the Sacraments: The third was to be a Paraphrase on all the Lessons on Holy-days; and the fourth was to be concerning the several Vertues and Vices, and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. In these, the wise and good temper of Cardinal *Pool* may be well discerned. He thought the people were more wrought on by the scandals they saw in the Clergy, than by the Arguments which they heard from the Reformers; and therefore he reckoned if Pluralities  
and



and Non-residences, and the other abuses of Church-men could have been removed, and if he could have brought the Bishops to have lived better, and laboured more, to be stricter in giving Orders, and more impartial in conferring Benefices, and if he could have established Seminaries in Cathedrals, Heresie might have been driven out of the Nation by gentler methods than by Racks and Fires: In one thing he shewed the meanness of his Spirit, that though he himself condemned cruel proceedings against Hereticks, yet he both gave Commissions to other Bishops and Arch-Deacons to try them, and suffered a great deal of Cruelty to be exercised in his own Diocese; but he had not courage enough to resist Pope *Paul* the Fourth, who thought of no other way for bearing down Heresie, but by setting up Courts of Inquisition every where. He had clapt up Cardinal *Mezzanin*, that was *Pool*'s great friend, in prison, upon suspicion of Heresie; and would very probably have used himself so, if he had got him at *Rome*.

The *Jesuites* were at this time beginning to grow considerable: They were tied, besides their other Vows, to an absolute obedience to the See of *Rome*; and set themselves every where to open Free Schools, for the education of youth, and to bear down Heresie. They were excused from the hours of the Quire, and so were looked on as a mungrel Order, between the

He refuses to bring the *Jesuites* to England.

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More of  
the Reform-  
ed are  
burnt.

Affairs in  
Germany.

Regulars and the Seculars. They proposed to Cardinal *Pool*, that since the Queen was restoring the Abbey-Lands, it would be to little purpose to give them again to the *Benedictine* Order; which was now rather a clog than a help to the Church. And therefore they desired that Houses might be assigned to them, for maintaining Schools and Seminaries; and they did not doubt but they should quickly both drive out Heresie, and recover the Church-Lands. *Pool* did not listen to this, for which he was much censured by the Fathers of that Society. It is not certain whether he had then the sagacity to foresee that disorder which they were like to bring into the Government of the Church, and that corruption of Morals that had since flowed from their Schools, and has been infused by them generally in Confessions, so that their whole Church is now over-run with it.

Three were burnt at one Stake in *Cambridge* in *November*, and *Philpot* was burnt in *Smithfield*, in *December*: he had been put in Prison, soon after that Convocation was dissolved, in which he had disputed in the beginning of this Reign: and was now brought out to the Stake. In all sixty seven were burnt this Year, of whom Four were Bishops, and Thirteen were Priests.

In *Germany*, a Diet was held, in which it was left free to all the Temporal Princes, to set up what Religion they pleased; but a restraint was put on the Ecclesiastical Princes.

Princes. Both *Ferdinand*, and the Duke of *Bevaria*, appointed the Chalice to be given to the Laity in their Dominions, at which the *Pope* stormed highly, and threatned to depose them : for that was his common stile, when he was displeased with any Prince. The Resignation of *Charles* the Fifth, which was begun this Year, and completed the next, drew the Eyes of all Europe upon it. He had enjoyed his Hereditary Dominions Forty years, and the Empire Thirty six. He had endured great Fatigues, by the many Journies he had made; Nine into *Germany*, six into *Spain*, seven into *Italy*, four through *France*: he was ten times in the *Netherlands*, made two Expeditions to *Africk*, and was twice in *England*: and had crossed the Sea eleven times. He had unusual success in his Wars, he had taken a *Pope*, a King of *France*, and some *German* Princes, Prisoners : and had a vast accession of Wealth and Empire from the *West-Indies* : but now as success followed him no more, so he was much afflicted with the Gout, and grew to be much out of love with the Pomp and Vanities of this World, and so seriously to prepare for another Life. He resigned all his Dominions with a greatness of mind, that was much superiour to all his other Conquests. He retired to a private Lodge of seven Rooms, that he had ordered to be built for him in the confines of *Portugal*: He kept only twelve Servants to wait upon him, and reserved for

*Charles* the Fifth's Resignation.

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for his Expence 100000. Crowns Pension. In this retreat he lived two years: His first year was spent chiefly in Mechanical Inventions, in which he took great pleasure: from that he turned to the cultivating his Garden, in which he used to work with those hands, that now preferred the grafting and pruning Tools, to Scepters and Swords. But after that he addicted himself more to study and Devotion, and did often discipline himself with a Cord. It was also believed, that in many points he came to be of the Opinion of the Protestants, before he died. His Confessor was soon after his death burnt for Heresie, and *Miranda* Archbishop of *Toledo*, that conversed much with him at this time, was clapt into Prison on the same suspensions. At the end of two years he died, having given a great Instance of a mind surfeited with the Glories of this World, that sought for quiet in a private Cell, which it had long in vain searched after in Palaces and Camps.

1556.  
Cranmer's  
sufferings.

In *March* next Year came on *Cranmer's* Martyrdom. In *September* last, *Brooks*, Bishop of *Glocester*, came down with authority from Cardinal *Pool*, to judge him: with him two Delegates came to assist him in the King and Queen's Name. When he was brought before them, he payed the respect that was due to those that sat in the King and Queen's Name, 'but would shew none 'to *Brooks*, since he sat there by an authority



'thority derived from the *Pope*, which he  
 'said, he would never acknowledge. He  
 'could not serve two Masters, and since  
 'he had sworn Allegiance to the Crown,  
 'he could never submit to the *Pope's* au-  
 'thority: He also shewed that the *Pope's*  
 'power had been as unjustly used, as it  
 'was ill grounded: that they had changed  
 'the Laws settled by Christ, which he in-  
 'stanced in denying the Chalice, in the  
 'Worship in an unknown Tongue, and in  
 'their pretences to a power to depose  
 'Princes: he remembred *Brooks*, that he  
 'had sworn to maintain the King's Supre-  
 'macy, and when he studied to cast that  
 'back on him, as an invention of his, he  
 'told him that it was acknowledged in his  
 'Predecessor *Warham's* time, and that *Brooks*  
 'had then set his hand to it. *Brooks*, and  
 the two Delegates, *Martin* and *Scary*, ob-  
 jected many things to him, as that he  
 had flattered King *Henry*, that so he might  
 be preferred by him, and that he had  
 condemned *Lambert* for denying the Pre-  
 sence in the Sacrament, and had been af-  
 terwards guilty of the same Heresie him-  
 self. But he vindicated himself from all aspi-  
 rings to the See of *Canterbury*, which ap-  
 peared visibly by the slowness of his mo-  
 tions, when he was called over out of  
*Germany*, to be advanced to it: for he  
 was seven Weeks on his Journey. He  
 confessed he had changed his Opinion in  
 the matter of the Sacrament, and acknow-  
 ledged that he had been twice married;

which

which he thought was free to all Men, and was certainly much better than to defile other Men's Wives: After much discourse had past on both sides, *Brooke* required him to appear before the *Pope* within Eighty Days, and answer to the things that should be objected to him: he said, he would do it most willingly, but he could not possibly go, if he were still kept a Prisoner.

14 Febr.

In *February* this Year, *Bonner* and *Thirleby* were sent to degrade him, for his Contumacy in not going to *Rome*; when he was all the while kept in Prison: He was clothed with all the Pontifical Robes made of Canvas, and then they were taken from him, according to the Ceremonies of degradation, in which *Bonner* carried himself with all the Insolence, that might have been expected from him: *Thirleby* was a good natured Man, and had been *Cranmer's* particular friend, and performed his part in this Ceremony, with great expressions of sorrow, and shed many tears at it. In all this *Cranmer* seemed very little concerned; he said, it was gross Injustice to condemn him for not going to *Rome*, when he was shut up in Prison; but he was not sorry to be thus cut off, even with all this Pageantry, from any relation to that Church: he denied the *Pope* had any authority over him, so he appealed from his Sentence to a free General Council.

But

But now many Engines were set on work, to make him recant: both *English* and *Spanish* Divines had many Conferences with him, and great hopes were given him, not only of Life, but of Preferment, if he would do it: and these at last had a fatal effect upon him; for he signed a Recantation of all his former Opinions, and concluded it with a Protestation, that he had done it freely, only for the discharge of his Conscience. But the *Queen* was resolved to make him a Sacrifice to her resentments; she said, it was good for his own Soul that he repented, but since he had been the chief spreader of Heresie over the Nation, it was necessary to make him a publick Example: so the Writ was sent down to burn him, and after some stop had been made, in the Execution of it, now Orders came for doing it suddenly. This was kept from *Cranmer's* knowledge, for they intended to carry him to the Stake, without giving him any notice, and so hoped to make him dye in despair: yet he suspecting somewhat, writ a long Paper, containing a Confession of his Faith, such as his Conscience, and not his fears had dictated.

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He Recant.

He was on the 21. of *March* carried to *St. Maries*, where *Dr. Cole* preached, and vindicated the *Queen's* Justice, in condemning *Cranmer*; but magnified his Conversion much, and ascribed it wholly to the workings of God's Spirit: he gave him great

He Repents, and is burnt.

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great hopes of Heaven, and promised him all the relief that Diriges and Masses could give him in another state. All this while *Crammer* was observed to be in great Confusion, and Floods of Tears run from his Eyes; at last, when he was called on to speak, he began with a Prayer, in which he expressed much inward remorse and horror: then after he had exhorted the People to good Life, Obedience and Charity, he in most pathetick expressions confessed his sin, that the hopes of Life had made him sign a Paper contrary to the Truth, and against his Conscience: and he had therefore resolved, that the hand that signed it, should be burnt first; he also declared, that he had the same belief concerning the Sacrament, which he had published in the Book he writ about it. Upon this there was a great Consternation on the whole Assembly, but they resolved to make an end of him suddenly, so without suffering him to go further, they hurried him away to the Stake: and gave him all the disturbance they could, by their reproaches and clamours: But he made them no answer, having now turned his thoughts wholly towards God. When the Fire was kindled, he held his right Hand towards the Flame, till it was consumed, and often said, *that unworthy hand*; he was soon after quite burnt, only his heart was found entire among the ashes: from which his Friends made this Inference, that though his Hand had erred, yet it appeared his Heart



Heart had continued true. They did not make a Miracle of it, though they said the Papists would have made a great matter of it, if such a thing had fallen out in any that had dyed for their Religion.

Thus did *Thomas Cranmer* end his days, His Character. in the LXVII. Year of his Age: He was a Man of great Candor, and a firm Friend, which appeared signally in the misfortunes of *Anne Boleyn*, *Cromwell*, and the Duke of *Somerset*: He rather excelled in great Industry and good Judgment, than in a quickness of apprehension, or a closeness of stile. He employed his Revenues on pious and charitable uses; and in his Table he was truly hospitable, for he entertained great numbers of his poor Neighbours often at it. The Gentleness and Humility of his deportment were very singular: His last fall was the greatest blemish of his Life, yet that was expiated by a sincere repentance, and a patient Martyrdom: and those that compared Ancient and Modern times, did not stick to compare him, not only to the *Chrysostomes*, the *Ambroses*, and the *Austins*, that were the chief Glories of the Church, in the fourth and fifth Centuries, but to those of the first Ages, that immediately followed the Apostles, and came nearest to the Patterns, which they had left the World; to the *Ignatius's*, the *Polycarps*, and the *Cyprians*. And it seemed necessary that the Reformation of the Church, being the restoring of the Primitive

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More burnings.

Primitive and Apostolical Doctrine, should have been chiefly carried on by a Man thus Eminent, for Primitive and Apostolical Vertues. In *January*, five Men, and two Women were burnt at one Stake in *Smithfield*: and one Man and four Women were burnt at *Canterbury*. In *March*, two Women were burnt at *Ipswich*, and three Men at *Salisbury*. In *April*, six Men of *Essex* were burnt in *Smithfield*: a Man and a Woman were burnt at *Rocheſter*, and another at *Canterbury*: and six, who were sent from *Colcheſter*, were condemned by *Bonner*, without giving them longer time to conſider whether they would recant, than till the Afternoon: for he was now ſo hardened in his Cruelty, that he grew weary of keeping his Priſoners ſome time, and of taking pains on them, to make them recant; he ſent them back to *Colcheſter*, where they were burnt: He condemned alſo both a blind Man, and an aged Cripple, and they were both burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford*. In *May*, three Women were burnt in *Smithfield*; the day after that, two were burnt at *Gloceſter*, one of them being blind. Three were burnt at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*; five were burnt at *Lewis*, and one at *Leiceſter*. But on the 27th. of *June*, *Bonner* gave the ſignalleſt Inſtance of his Cruelty, that *England* ever ſaw: for 11. Men, and two Women were burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford*. The horror of this Action it ſeems had ſome Operation on himſelf, for he burnt

burnt none till *April* next year. In *June* three were burnt at *Saint Edmondsbury*, and three were afterwards burnt at *Newbury*. This cruelty was not kept within *England*, but it extended as far as to the adjacent Islands. In *Guernsey*, a Mother and her two Daughters were burnt at the same stake; one of them was a married Woman, and big with Child: The violence of the Fire bursting her Belly, the Child that proved to be a Boy, fell out into the Flame: He was snatched out of it, by one that was more merciful than the rest: but the other barbarous Spectators, after a little Consultation, threw it back again into the Fire. This was Murder without question, for no Sentence against the Mother could excuse this Inhumane piece of Butchery, which was thought the more odious, because the Dean of *Guernsey* was a Complice in it: yet so merciful was the Government under Queen *Elizabeth*, that he, and Nine others, that were accused for it, had their Pardons. Two were after this, burnt at *Greenstead*, and a blind Woman at *Darby*; Four were burnt at *Bristol*, and as many at *Mayfield* in *Suffex*, and one at *Nottingham*: so that in all LXXXV. were this Year burnt, without any regard had, either to Age, or Sex, to young or old, or the Lame and the Blind; which raised so extream an aversion in this Nation to that Religion, that it is no wonder if the apprehensions of being again brought under so Tyrannical a Yoke, break out into most Violent and Convulsive Symptoms.



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The Re-  
formed  
increase  
upon this.

By these means, the Reformation was so far from being extinguished, that it spread daily more and more, and the Zeal of those that professed it grew quicker. They had frequent Meetings, and several Teachers, that instructed them: and their Friends that went beyond Sea, and settled in *Strasbourg*, *Frankfort*, *Embsden*, and some other places in *Germany*, took care to send over many Books for their Instruction and Comfort.

The troubles at  
*Frankford*.

An unhappy difference was begun at *Frankford*, which has had since that time great and fatal Consequences; some of the *English* thought it was better to use a Liturgy, agreeing with the *Geneva* forms; whereas the rest thought, that since they were a part of the Church of *England*, that fled thither, they ought to adhere to the *English* Liturgy, and that the rather, since those who had compiled it, were now sealing it with their Blood. This raised much heat, but Doctor *Cox* that lived in *Strasbourg*, being held in great esteem, went thither, and procured an Order from the Senate, that the *English* should continue to use the forms of their own Church: but the fire was not thereby quenched, for *Knox*, and some other hot spirits, began to make exceptions to some parts of the Liturgy; and got *Calvin* to declare on their side: upon which some of them retired to *Geneva*. Another contest arose concerning the censuring of Offenders, which some said belonged only to the Minister, and others



others thought that the Congregation ought to be admitted to a share in it. Great animosities were raised by these debates, which gave scandal to the strangers, among whom they lived, and made many reflect on the Schisms of the *Novatians* and *Donatists*, that rent the Churches of *Africk*; the one during the Persecutions, and the other immediately after they were over.

In England, *Pool* was Consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the day after *Cranmer* was burnt: which gave occasion to many to apply the words of *Elijah* to him, *Thou hast killed and taken possession*: A Week after that, he came into *London* in great state, and had the Pall put about him, by *Heath* in *Bow-Church*: and after that, he made a cold Sermon concerning the beginning, the Use and Vertues of the Pall: without either Learning or Eloquence: for it was observed, that he had so far changed his stile, which in his Youth was too luxuriant, that it was now become flat, and had neither Life nor Beauty in it. The Pall was a device of the Popes, in the 12th. Century, in which they began first to send those Cloaks to Archbishops, as a Badge of their being the Pope's *Legates born*.

*Pool made Archbisch. of Canterbury.*

The Queen had founded a House for the *Franciscans* of the *Observance* in *Greenwich* last Year: This year she founded Houses for the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* in *London*, as also a House for the *Carthusians* at *Skeen*,

*More Religious Houses.*

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and a Nunnery at *Sion*: She also converted the Church of *Westminster*, into an *Abbey*. And that way might be made to the restoring Religious Orders, she took care to have all the Reports, Confessions, and other Records; that tended to the dishonour of their Houses, be raised: So that no Memory might remain of them to the next Age. For this end she gave a Commission to *Bonner*, and others, to search all Registers, and to take out of them every thing, that was either against the See of *Rome*, or the Religious Houses: and they executed this Commission so carefully, that the steps of it appear in the defectiveness of all the Records of that time: yet many things have escaped their diligence. This Expurgation of theirs was compared to the rage of the Heathens in the last Persecution, who destroyed all the Books and Registers, that they could find among the Christians. The *Monks* of *Glassenbury* were in hope to have got their House, that had been dedicated to the honour of *Joseph* of *Arimathea*; raised again: they desired only the House, and a little Land about it; which they resolved to Cultivate, and did not doubt but the People of the Countrey would contribute towards their subsistence: and it is probable that the like designs were set on foot for the other Houses: and it was not to be doubted, but that as soon as they had again infused in the Nation the belief of Purgatory, they would have perswaded those that held their Lands, especially if they could come near them, when they were dying,

ing, to deliver themselves from the sin and punishments of Sacrilege; by making re-stitution. It is true, the Nobility and Gen-try were much alarmed at these proceed-ings: and at the last Parliament, many in the House of Commons laid their Hands on their Swords, and declared, that they would not part with their Estates, but would de-fend them. Yet all that intended to gain favour at Court, made their way to it, by founding Chancies for Masses, to be said for them and their Ancestors; and took out Licences from the Queen, for making those Endowments.

A Truce was now concluded between France and Spain for five years: but the Violent Pope broke it. He was offended at the House of Austria, and chiefly at Ferdinand's assuming the Title of Emperour, without his consent: he used to say, that all Kingdoms were subject to him: that he would suffer no Prince to be too fa-miliar with him: and that he would set the World on fire, rather than be driven to do any thing below his Dignity. He pretended that he had reformed the abuses of his own Court, and that he would in the next place reform all the abuses that were in other Courts, of which he order-ed a great Collection to be made: when he was prest to call a Council, he said, he needed none; for he himself was above all; and the World had already seen twice, to how little purpose it was to send about Sixty weak Bishops, and Forty Divines,

The Pope sets on a War be-tween France and Spain.

that were not the most learned, to *Trent*: he resolved it should never meet there any more; but he would call one to sit in the *Lateran*: he signified this to the Ambassadors of Princes, only in courtesie: for he would ask advice of none of them, but would be obeyed by them all: and if Princes would send none of their Prelates thither, he would hold a Council without them, and would let the World see what a *Pope*, that had courage, could do. This imperious humour of his, made him talk sometimes like a mad-man: He intended, as was believed, to raise his Nephew to be King of *Naples*, and in order to that, he sent one of his Nephews to *France*, to absolve the King from the Truce which he had sworn: and promised to create what Cardinals that King would nominate, if he would make War on *Spain*; though to the *Queen's* Ambassadors, and all others at *Rome*, he gave it out, that he would mediate a Peace between the Crowns, for a Truce did not sufficiently secure the quiet of *Europe*. The *French* King was too easily perswaded by the Instigation of the *Pope*, and the House of *Guize*, to break his Faith, and begin the War. The *Pope* also began it in *Italy*, and put the Cardinals of the *Spanish* faction in Prison, and threatned to proceed to Censures against King *Philip*, for protecting the *Colonneis*, who were his particular Enemies. He made some Levies among the *Grisons*, that were Hereticks; but said, he lookt on 'em as Angels of God, and was confident,

God



God would convert them. The Duke of  
*Walla* had that Reverence for the Papacy,  
 that he took Arms against the *Pope* very  
 unwillingly: He could have taken *Rome*,  
 but would not: and for the places that he  
 took, he declared he would deliver them  
 up to the next *Pope*. It gave great scandal  
 to the World, to see the *Pope* set on so  
 perfidious a breach of Truce; and it was  
 thought strange, that in the same Year, a  
 Great Prince in the 36. Year of his Age,  
 should retire to a Monastery; and that one  
 bred a Monk, and 80. Years old, should  
 set *Europe* in a Flame.

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The next Year *Pool* sent *Ormaneto* with some  
*English* Divines, to visit *Cambridge*. They put  
 the Churches, in which the Bodies of *Bucer*  
 and *Flagius* lay, under an Interdict. They made  
 a Visitation of all the Colledges and Chap-  
 pels, in which *Ormaneto* shewed great In-  
 tegrity; and without respect of Persons,  
 he chid some Heads of Houses, whom he  
 found guilty of misapplying the Revenues  
 of their Houses. The two dead Bodies  
 were burnt with great solemnity: They  
 were raised and cited to appear, and an-  
 swer for the Heresies they had taught,  
 and if any would answer for them, they  
 were required to come. The Dead said  
 nothing for themselves; and the living  
 were afraid to do it, for fear of being  
 sent after them: so Witnesses were exa-  
 mined, and in conclusion they were con-  
 demned as obstinate Hereticks, and the

1557.  
 A Visitation  
 of the  
 Universi-  
 ties.

dead Bodies, with many Heretical Books were all burnt in one Fire. *Pern* was Vice-Chancellour at this time, and happened to be in some Office four years after, when, by Queen *Elizabeth's* Order, publick honours were done to the Memory of these Learned Men, and he obeyed both these Orders with so much zeal, that it appeared how exactly he had learned the Lesson so much studied in that Age, of serving the time. After this there was a Visitation of all the Colledges in *Oxford*, and there it was intended to act such Pageantry on the body of *Peter Martyr's* Wife, as had been done at *Cambridge*. But she that could speak no *English*, had not declared her Opinions so, that Witnesses could be found to convict her of Heresie: yet since it was notoriously known, that she had been a Nun, and had broken her Vow of Chastity, they raised her Body, and buried it in a Dunghill: but her Bones were afterwards mixed with Saint *Frideswide's*, by Queen *Elizabeth's* Order.

A severe  
Inquisition  
of Hereticks.

The Justices of Peace were now every where so slack in the Prosecution of Hereticks, that it seemed necessary to find out other Tools. So the Courts of Inquisition were thought on. These were set up first in *France* against the *Albigenses*, and afterwards in *Spain*, for discovering the *Moors*; and were now turned upon the Hereticks. Their power was uncontrollable, they seized on any they pleased, upon such Informations, or Presumptions, as lay before them. They

They managed their Processes in secret, and put their Prisoners to such sorts of Torture, as they thought fit for extorting Confessions or Discoveries from them. At this time both the *Pope* and King *Philip*, though they differed in other things, agreed in this, that they were the only sure means for extirpating Heresie. 'So as a step to the setting them up, a Commission was given to *Bonner* and twenty more, the greatest part Laymen, to search all over *England* for all suspected of Heresie, that did not hear Masse, go in Processions, or did not take Holy bread, or Holy water: they were authorized, three being a *Quorum*, to proceed either by Presentments, or other Politick ways: they were to deliver all they discovered to their Ordinaries; and were to use all such means as they could invent; which was left to their discretions and Consciences, for executing their Commission. Many other Commissions subalterne to theirs, were issued out for several Counties and Diocesses. This was looked on as such an advance towards an Inquisition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The burnings were carried on vigorously in some places, and but coldly in most parts, for the dislike of them grew to be almost Universal.

In *January*, six were burnt in one Fire at *More* bur-  
*Camberbury*, and four in other parts of *Kent*: nings.  
 22. were sent out of *Colchester* to *Bonner*;  
 but it seems *Pool* had chid him severely for  
 the Fire he had made of thirteen the last  
 Year,

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Year, so he writ to *Pool* for directions. The Cardinal imployed some to deal with the Prisoners, and they got them to sign a Paper in general words, acknowledging 'that Christ's Body was in the Sacrament, 'and declaring that they would be subject 'to the Church of Christ, and to their law- 'ful Superiours. And upon this they were set at liberty; by which it appeared that *Pool* was willing to have accepted any thing, by which he might on the one hand preserve the Lives of those that were informed against, and yet not be exposed to the rage of the *Pope*, as a favourer of Hereticks. In *April*, three Men and one Woman were burnt in *Smithfield*: In *May*, three were burnt in *Southwark*, condemned by *White* the new Bishop of *Winchester*, and three at *Bristol*. Five Men and nine Women were burnt in *Kent*, in *June*: and in the same Month, six Men and four Women were burnt at *Lewis*. In *July*, two were burnt at *Norwich*; and in *August*, ten were burnt in one day at *Colchester*. They were some of those 22. that were by *Pool*'s means discharged: but the Cruel Priests informed against them, and said, the favour shewed to them had so encouraged all others, that it was necessary to remove the scandal, which that mercy of the Cardinals gave, and to make Examples of some of them. In *August*, one was burnt at *Norwich*; two at *Rochester*, and one at *Litchfield*. One *Eagle*, that went much about from place to place, from which he was called *Trudge over*, was condemned as a Traytor,



Traytor, for some words spoken against the Queen: But all this Cruelty did not satisfie the Clergy, they complained that the Magistrates were backward, and did their duty very negligently: upon which, severe Letters were written to several Towns, from the Council-board: and zealous Men were recommended to be chosen Mayors, in sundry Towns. In *September*, three Men and one Woman were burnt at *Islington*, and two at *Colchester*; one at *Northampton*, and one at *Laxefield*: a Woman was burnt at *Norwich*: a Priest with thirteen other Men and three Women, were burnt at *Chichester*. In *November*, three were burnt in *Smishfield*; *Rough* a Scotchman, that had a Benefice in *K. Edward's* time, kept a private Meeting at *Islington*: but one of the Company being corrupted, discovered the rest, so they were apprehended as they were going to the Communion, and he, and a Woman were burnt in *December*: so 79. were burnt in all this year.

This Year a horrid Murder of one *Argol*, The Lord and his Son was committed by the L. *Stourton*, and some of his Servants: who after they had butchered them in a most barbarous manner, buried them fifteen Foot deep in the ground. The Lord *Stourton* was a zealous Papist, and had protested against all the Acts that had past in *King Edward's* time; yet the Queen not only would not pardon him, but would not so much as change the Infamous death of hanging, into a beheading: not because the Prerogative extends not so far, as some have without reason

Stourton  
hanged.

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reason asserted: for both the Duke of *Somerset* condemned in the Reign of King *Edward*, and the Lord *Audley* condemned under King *Charles* the First, for Felony, were beheaded: but the Queen resolved in this case to shew no favour. All the distinction was, that the Lord *Stourton* was hanged in a silken Rope. This was much extolled as an Instance of the Queens Impartial Justice; and it was said, that since she left her Friends to the Law, her Enemies had no cause to complain, if it was executed on them.

The Queen  
joyns in  
the War  
against  
*France*.

The War breaking out between *Spain* and *France*, King *Philip* had a great mind to engage *England* in it. The Queen complained often of the kind reception that was given to the fugitives, that fled from *England* to *France*, and it was believed that the *French* secretly supplied and encouraged them to imbroil her affairs. One *Stafford* had this Year gathered many of them together, and landing in *Yorkshire*, he surpris'd the Castle of *Scarborough*, and published a Manifesto against the Queen, that by bringing in strangers to govern the Nation, she had forfeited her right to the Crown: but few came in to him; so he and his Complices were forced to render, and four of them were hanged. The *English* Ambassadour in *France*, Dr. *Wotton*, discovered that the Constable had a design to take *Calais*: for he sent his own Nephew, whom he had brought over, and instructed secretly, to him, he pretended he was sent from a great Party in that Town, who

who were resolved to deliver it up : at which the Constable seemed not a little glad, and entred into a long discourse with him of the Methods of taking it: yet all this made no great Impression on the Queen ; All her Council, chiefly the Clergy, were against engaging; for they saw that would oblige them to slacken their severities at home: so the King found it necessary to come over himself, and perswade her to it. He prevailed with her: and after a denunciation of War, she sent over 80000. Men to his assistance, who joyned the *Spanish* Army consisting of 50000. that was set down before St. *Quintin*.

The Constable of *France* came with a great force, to raise the Siege ; but when the two Armies were in view of one another, the *French* by a mistake in the word of command, fell in disorder ; upon which the *Spaniards* charged them with such success, that the whole Army was defeated : Many were killed on the place, and many were taken Prisoners, among whom was the Constable himself : and the *Spaniards* lost only fifty Men. Had *Philip* followed this blow, and marched straight to *Paris*, he had found all *France* in a great consternation, but he sat still before S. *Quintin*, which held out till the terror of this defeat was much over. The Constable lost his reputation in it, and all looked on it as a curse upon that King, for the breach of his Faith.

The Battel  
of S.  
*Quintin*.

The

The *French* Troops were called out of *Italy*, upon which the *Pope* being now exposed to the *Spaniards*, fell in strange fits of rage; particularly he inveighed much against *Pool*, for suffering the *Queen* to joyn with the Enemies of the Apostolick See: and having made a General Decree, recalling all his Legates and Nuntio's in the *Spanish* Dominions, he recalled *Pool's* Legatine power among the rest: and neither the Intercessions of the *Queen's* Ambassadors, nor the other Cardinals could prevail with him to alter it: only as an extraordinary Grace, he consented not to intimate it to him. But after this he went further: He made Friar *Peyto* a Cardinal: he liked him for his railing against King *Henry* to his Face, and thought that since the *Queen* had made him her Confessor, he would be very acceptable to her. He recalled *Pool's* powers, and required him to come to *Rome*, and answer to some Complaints made of him, for the favour he shewed to Hereticks: He also declared *Peyto* his Legate for *England*, and writ to the *Queen* to receive him: but the *Queen* ordered the Bulls and Briefs that were sent over, to be laid up without opening them, which had been the method formerly practised, when unacceptable Bulls were sent over: She sent word to *Peyto*, not to come into *England*, otherwise she would sue him, and all that owned him, in a *Præmunire*. He died soon after. Cardinal *Pool* laid aside the Ensigns of a Legate, and sent over *Ormaneto* with so submissive a Message,



Message, that the *Pope* was much mollified by it, and a Treaty of Peace being set on foot, this storm went over. The Duke of *Alva* marched near *Rome*, which was in no condition to resist him: so the *Pope* in great fury called the Cardinals together, and told them, he was resolved to suffer Martyrdom, without being daunted, which they who knew that he had drawn all this on himself, by his Ambition and Rage, could scarce hear without laughter. Yet the Duke of *Alva* was willing to treat. The haughty *Pope*, though he was forced to yield in the chief points, yet in the punctilio's of Ceremonies, he stood so high upon his honour, which he said was Christ's honour, that he declared he would see the whole World ruined, rather than yield in a Title: In that the Duke of *Alva* was willing enough to comply with him, so he came to *Rome*, and in his Master's name, asked pardon for Invading the Patrimony of *S. Peter*; and the *Pope* gave him Absolution, in as Insolent a manner, as if he had been the Conqueror. The news of this Reconciliation were received in *England*, with all the publickest expressions of joy. In *Scotland*, the *Queen* Regent studied to engage that Nation in the War: all that favoured the Reformation were for it; but the Clergy opposed it. The *Queen* thought to draw them into it, whether they would or not, and sent in *D'oisell* to besiege a Castle in *England*. But the *Scotch* Lords complained much of that, and required him to give over his attempt, otherwise they would

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would declare him an Enemy to the Nation. So after some slight skirmishes on the Borders, the matter was put up on both sides. This made the *Queen* Regent write to *France*, pressing them to conclude the Marriage between the *Dolphin* and the *Queen*: upon which a Message was sent from that Court, desiring the *Scots* to send over Commissioners to treat about the Articles of the Marriage, and some of every State were dispatched for settling that matter. There was this Year great want of Money in the Exchequer of *England*; and the backwardness of the last Parliament made the Council unwilling to call a new one. It was tried what Sums could be raised by Loan, upon Privy Seals: but so little came in that way, that at last one was Summoned to meet in *January*, yet in the mean while advertisements were given them, of the ill condition, in which the Garrisons of *Calais*, and the neighbouring places were, and that the *French* had a design on them: but either they thought there was no danger during the Winter, or they wanted Money so much, that no care was taken to secure them.

Affairs in  
Germany.

In *Germany*, the Papists did this Year blow up the differences between the *Lutherans* and the *Zuinglians*, with so much Artifice, that a Conference, which was appointed for settling matters of Religion, was broken up, without any good effect: Only it discovered a common practice of the Popish party, in engaging those that divided from

from them, into heats and animosities one against another, by which their strength was not only much weakned, but their Zeal, instead of turning against the Common Enemy, turned upon one another. But yet the many Experiments that have been made of this, have not been able to infuse that moderation and prudence in many of the Reformed Churches, which might have been expected. In *France*, the numbers of the Reformed increased so much, that 200. assembled in *St. Germain's*, one of the Suburbs of *Paris*, to receive the Communion. This was observed by the People of the Neighbourhood, and a Tumult was raised: the Men for most escaped, but 160. Women, and some few Men were taken: of these six Men and one Woman were burnt: and most horrid things were published of that Meeting; and among other Calumnies, it was said, they sacrificed and eat a Child. All these were confuted in an Apology, Printed for their Vindication: The *German* Princes, and the *Cantons* interposed so effectually, and their Alliance was then so necessary to the Crown of *France*, that a stop was put to further severities. The *Pope* complained much of that, and of some Edicts that the King had set out, annulling Marriages without consent of Parents, and requiring Churchmen to reside at their Benefices, as Invasions on the Spiritual Authority.

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Calais and  
other places  
taken  
by the  
French.

The beginning of the next Year was famous by the loss of *Calais*. The Duke of *Guise* sat down before it, on the 1. of January. The Garrison consisted but of 500. Men, so that two Forts about it, of which the one commanded the Avenue to it by Land, and the other commanded the Harbour, were easily taken: for the Lord *Wentworth*, that was Governour, could not spare Men enough to defend them. The *French* drew the Water out of the Ditches, and made the Assault, and carried the Castle; which was thought Impregnable: After that the Town could do little, so it was surrendred, and the Governour with 50. Officers, were made Prisoners of War. Thus was this Important place, which the *English* had kept 210. Years, lost in a Week, and that in Winter. From this the Duke of *Guise* went to besiege *Guines*, which had a better Garrison of 1100. Men, but they were much disheartned by the loss of *Calais*; they retired into the Castle, and left the Town to the *French*; but yet they beat them once out of it. The *French*, after a long Battery, gave the Assault, and forced them to Capitulate: The Souldiers, as at *Calais*, had leave to go away, but the Officers were made Prisoners of War. The Garrison that was in *Hammes*, seeing themselves cut off from the Sea, and lost, abandoned the Place before the *French* summoned them. The loss of *Calais* raised great complaints against the Council, and they

to



to excuse themselves, cast the blame on the Lord *Wentworth*; and ordered a Citation to be made of him, when he was a Prisoner with the *French*: his Defence was not fit to be heard, otherwise it had been easie for the Council to have brought him over. He had not above the fourth part of that number, that was necessary to defend the place, and in time of War had no more, than were usually kept there in times of Peace; of this, both he, and Sir *Edward Grimston*, that was Controulor, gave full and timely advertisements, but had not those Supplies sent them that were necessary. They both came over in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, and offered themselves to Trial, and were acquitted. *Grimston* was unwilling to pay the great Ransom that was set on him; so after two years Imprisonment, he made his escape out of the *Bastile*, & came to *England*, and lived till the 98. year of his Age. He was Great-grand-father to Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, the Author's Noble Patron and Benefactor. The *French* after this took *Sark*, a little Island in the Channel; but it was ingeniously retaken by a *Fleming*, who pretended that he desired to bury a Friend of his, that had died aboard his ship, in that Island: the *French* were very careful to search the Men that came ashore, that they should have no Arms about them; but did not think of looking into the Coffin, which was full of Arms, and when they thought the Seamen were burying their dead Friend, they armed themselves, and took all the

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Great dis-  
contents  
in England.

*French*, that were in the Castle. The Inge-  
niousness, rather than the Importance of this,  
makes it worth the mentioning.

The discontent that the loss of *Calais* gave  
to the *English*, was such, that the Queen could  
not hope ever to overcome it : and it sunk so  
deep in her mind, that it hastned her death  
not a little. Both sides took upon them to  
draw Arguments from this loss : The Refor-  
mers said, it was a Judgment on the Nation,  
for the contempt of the true Religion, and  
the Cruelties that had been of late practi-  
sed : The Papists said, the Hereticks had  
found such shelter and connivence there, that  
no wonder the place was lost. *Philip* sent  
over, and offered his assistance to go, and  
retake the place, before the Fortifications  
should be repaired, if the *English* would  
send over a Force equal to such an underta-  
king : but they upon an Estimate made of  
the Expende, that this, and a War for the next  
Year would put them to, found it would  
rise to 520000 *l.* Sterling : and as the Treas-  
ure was exhausted, and could not furnish  
such a Sum, so they had no reason to expect  
such liberal Supplies from the People. The  
Bishops were afraid lest the continuance of  
the War should make it necessary to pro-  
ceed more gently against Hereticks, and  
thought it better to sit down with the loss  
of *Calais*, than hazard that : they seemed  
confident that within a Year, they should  
be able to clear the Kingdom of Heresie :  
and therefore moved that preparations  
might

## of the Reformation, &c.

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might be made for a War to begin the Year after this.

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The Parliament assembled ; for which the Abbot of *Westminster*, and the Prior of St. *John of Jerusalem* had their Writs, and sat in it. The Lords desired a Conference with the Commons, concerning the safety of the Nation, and upon that a Subsidy, a Tenth, and a Fifteenth were given by the Laity, and the Clergy gave eight shillings in the Pound, to be payed in four Years.

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The Parliament meets.

The Abbot of *Westminster* moved, that the Priviledges of Sanctuary might be again restored to his House ; but that was laid aside. The procurers of wilful Murder were denied the benefit of the Clergy : but great opposition was made to it in the House of Lords. A Bill was brought in, confirming the Letters Patents, which the Queen had granted, or might grant. This related to the Foundations of Religious Houses, but one *Coxley* opposed this ; and insinuated, that perhaps the Queen intended to dispose of the Crown, in prejudice of the right Heir : at which the House expressed so great a dislike, as shewed, they would not have it so much, as imagined, that Lady *Elizabeth* could be excluded. He had a publick reprimend given him for insinuating a thing so much to the Queen's dishonour.

A Proposition of Marriage, was at this time privately made by the King of *Sweden*, to Lady *Elizabeth* ; but she rejected it, because it was not sent to her by the Queen :

The carriage and usage of Lady *Elizabeth* all this Reign.

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though the Messenger declared that his Master, as he was a Gentleman, began at her, and as he was a King, he had ordered him to propose it next to the Queen. But she assured him, that if the Queen would leave her to her self, she would not change her state of life. When the Queen knew of this, she approved much of her Sister's answer, and sent one to her to try her mind in it; for now the Proposition was made to her: but she expressed her dislike of a married state so firmly, that this motion fell to the ground. It seems her aversion was very great, otherwise the condition she was then in, was neither so easie, nor so secure, but that she had reason to desire to be out of her Keeper's hands; and to apprehend that her danger encreased, as the Queen's health was impaired: for many of the Bishops were offering Cruel counsels against Her. She had been first sent for upon the breaking out of *Wiat's* Conspiracy: and though she lay then sick in Bed, she was forc'd to come to Court: There she was at first confined to her Lodgings, and was afterwards carried to the Tower, and led into it by the Traitor's Gate, and was strictly guarded: Her Servants were put from her, and none had access to her, but those that were Spies upon her: nor was she suffered to walk on the Leads, or have the ordinary comforts of Air. Some were put to the Rack to draw Confessions from them, but none accused her, except *Wiat*, and he retracted what he had said in hopes of a Pardon

when



when he was upon the *Scaffold*. When it appeared that nothing could be made out against her, she was sent down to *Woodstock*; and was kept under strict Guards, and very roughly used by Sir *Henry Benesfeld*. But King *Philip* so far mollified the Queen towards her, that he prevailed with her to bring her to *Court*; and to admit her to her Presence. *Gardiner*, and many others dealt much with her, to confess her offences, and ask the Queen's pardon: but she always stood upon her Innocence, and said she had never offended her, not so much as in her thoughts. When she was brought to the Queen, she renewed the same protestations to her, and begged that she would entertain a good opinion of her. The Queen, though she pressed her much to acknowledge some faultiness, yet seemed to be satisfied with what she said; and parted with her in good terms: of which King *Philip* had some apprehensions, for he had conveyed himself secretly into a corner of the Room, that he might prevent a further breach, in case the Queen should fall into heats with her. After this her Guards were discharged, and she seemed to be at liberty: but she had so many Spies about her, that to avoid all suspicion, she medled in no sort of business; but gave her self wholly to study: Thus was she Employed for five years, during which time, she was under continual apprehensions of Death, which was perhaps a necessary preparation for that long course of Prosperity and Glory, with which she was afterwards blest.

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1558.  
More burn-  
ings.

During the ſitting of Parliaments, the Biſhops did always intermit their Cruelties, but as ſoon as they were over, they returned to them. *Cuthbert Simpson*, one in Deacons Orders, had been taken at the Meeting in *Iſlington*, and was rackt with extream ſeverity, to make him confeſs all the Friends they had in *London*: but nothing was drawn from him; ſo in *March*, he and two others were burnt in *Smithfield*. In *April* one was burnt at *Hereford*; and in *May*, three were burnt at *Colcheſter*: Several Books were Printed beyond Sea, and ſecretly conveyed into *England*: upon which a Proclamation of a very ſtrange nature was ſet out; 'That if any received any of theſe Books, and did not preſently burn them, without either reading them, or ſhewing them to any Perſon, they were to be Executed immediately by Martial Law. Seven were burnt in *Smithfield* in the end of *May*; and another Proclamation was at that time made in the *Queens* name, againſt all that ſhould ſpeak to them, or pray for them: but no Authority could reſtrain thoſe prayers, which devout minds offered up ſecretly to God. Six were burnt at *Brainford*, in *July*: a Miniſter was burnt at *Norwich*, in that Month. In *Auguſt*, a Gentleman was burnt near *Wincheſter*: At *St. Edmondsbury*, four were burnt in *Auguſt*, and three more in *November*: at the ſame time, a Man and a Woman were burnt at *Ipfwich*: a Woman was alſo burnt at *Exeter*; and on the 10th. of *November*, three Men and two Women were burnt at *Canterbury*; in all XXXIX.

this

this Year. All that were burnt during this Reign, as far as I could gather the number, were 284. though *Grindall*, that lived in that time, writes, that in two Years 800. were burnt: many more were imprisoned, 60. died in Prison; others, after much cruel usage, *Bonner* himself often disciplining them with Whips and Tortures, were prevailed on to abjure; but carried in their minds a deep aversion to that Cruelty which had tempted them to such Apostasie. At first pardons were offered at the Stake, to tempt the Martyrs to the last moment of their life; but afterwards the *Priests* Cruelty, as it continued to the last Week of the Queens life, so it encreased to that degree, that *Bembridge*, who was burnt near *Winchester*, in *August*, crying out, when he felt the Violence of the fire, that he recanted; the Sheriff made his People put out the Fire, and hoped, that since the Clergy pretended, that they desired the Conversion, and not the destruction of the Hereticks, this act of Mercy would not displease them: but the Council writ to him, ordering him to go on and execute the Sentence, and to take care that he should dye a good Catholick; for it was said, if he recanted sincerely, he was fit to dye; and if he did it not sincerely, he was not fit to live: and when this was done, the Sheriff was put in the *Fleet* for his Presumption.

This Year the Lord *Clinton* was sent with III success, a Fleet of 120. Ships, and 7000. Land-men & strange accidents. in it, against *France*, he made but one defeat,

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cent, and lost 600. Men in it; so after an inglorious and expenceful Voyage, he returned back. The *English* had lost their Hearts, and began to think that Heaven was against them: Extraordinary accidents encreased those Apprehensions: Thunder broke violently in *Nottingham*; the *Trent* swell'd excessively, and did much mischief. Hail-stones of a huge bigness fell in some places. Intermitting Fevers were so Universal and Contagious, that they raged like a Plague, so that in many Places there were not People enough to reap the Harvest: all which tended to encrease the aversion to the Government, and that disposed the Queen to hearken to overtures of Peace. This was projected between the Bishop of *Arras*, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who were the chief Favourites to the two Kings, and were both much set on extirpating Heresie, which could not be done, during the continuance of the War; the Cardinal of *Lorraine* was more earnest in it, because the Constable, who was the Head of the Faction, against the House of *Guise*, was suspected to favour it, and his three Nephews, the *Coligny's*, were known to encline to it: The King of *France* had also lost another Battel, this Year, at *Gravelin*, which made him desire a Peace: for he thought the driving the *English* out of *France*, did compensate both that, and his loss at St. *Quimin*: So both those Princes reckoned they had such advantages, that they might make Peace with honour: and they being thus disposed to it,



it, a Treaty was opened at *Cambray*. *Philip*, in his own disposition, was much inclined to extirpate Heresie, and the Brothers of *Guise* possessed the King of *France* with the same *Maximes*: which seemed more necessary, because Heresie had then spread so much in that Court, that both the King and Queen of *Navarre* declared themselves for the Reformation: and great numbers in the Publick Walks about *Paris*, used to assemble at Nights, and sing *David's* Psalms in Verse. The King of *Navarre* was the first Prince of the Blood, and so was in great consideration for his rank, but was a weak Man: His Queen was the wonder of her Age, both for great Parts, Eminent Vertues, and a most Extraordinary sense of Religion. There was an Edict set out, forbidding this Psalmody, but the dignity of these crowned Heads, and the Numbers of those that were engaged in it, made it seem not advisable to punish any for it, at least, till a general Peace had been first made.

In *April* was the *Dauphin* married to the Queen of *Scotland*, which was honoured by an Epithalamium, writ by *Buchanan*, reckoned to be one of the rarest Pieces of *Latine* Poetry. The Deputies sent from *Scotland*, were desired to offer the *Dauphin* the Crown of *Scotland*, in the Right of his Wife: But they said, that exceeded the bounds of their Commission, so they only promised to represent

The *Dauphin* and Queen of *Scotland* married.

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sent the matter to the States of *Scotland*: but could not conceal the aversion they had to it. Soon after Four of the Seven, that were sent over, died, and the Fifth escaped narrowly. It was generally suspected, that they were poisoned: when the rest returned to *Scotland*, an Assembly of the States was called, in which it was agreed to allow the *Dauphin* the Title of King, but with this Proviso, that he should have no power over them, and that it was only a bare Title, which they offered him. This was appointed to be carried to him, by the Earl of *Argile*, and the Prior of *St. Andrews*, who had been the chief Sticklers for the *French* Interest, in hopes of the Queen Regents Protection, against the rage of the Bishops, in matters of Religion.

A Parliament in England.

In *England*, a Parliament was called, the 5th. of *November*: the Queen being ill, sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and laid before him the ill condition of the Nation; and the necessity of putting it in a posture of defence: But the Commons were so ill satisfied with the Conduct of affairs, that they could come to no resolution; so on the 14th. of that Month, twelve of the chief Lords of both Estates, came down to the House of Commons, and desired them to grant a Subsidy to defend the Nation, both against the *French* and *Scots*: but the Commons came to no conclusion, till the Queen's death,

death, on the 17th. put an end to the Parliament.

Her false Conception, and the Melancholy that followed it, which received a surcharge from the loss of *Calais*, brought her into an ill habit of body, and that turned to a Dropsie, which put an end to her unhappy Reign, in the forty-third year of her Age, after she had reigned five Years, four Months, and eleven Days. Sixteen hours after, her Cardinal *Pool* died, in the fifty ninth year of his Age. He left *Prinli* a Noble *Venetian*, that had lived twenty six years in an entire friendship with him, his Executor: but as *Pool* had not studied to heap up much Wealth, so *Prinli*, who had refused a Cardinal's Hat, rather than be obliged thereby to lose his Company, gave it all away, and reserved nothing to himself, but his Breviary and Diary.

*Pool* was a learned, humble, prudent and moderate Man: and had certainly the best notions of any of his Party, then in *England*: but he was almost alone in them; so that the Queen, whose temper and principles were fierce and severe, preferred the bloody Counsels of *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, to the wiser and better methods which he proposed. And though his superstition for the See of *Rome*, continued still with him, yet his Eyes were opened in many things: his being Legate at *Trent*, and his retirement at *Viterbo*, had both enlightned and composed his mind; and that joyned to the

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Death.

*Pool's*  
Death and  
Character.

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the Probity and sweetness of his Temper, produced great effects in him : his Character deserves the more to be enlarged on, because there were no others of the Clergy, at that time, concerning whom even a partial Historian can find much good to relate ; for their temporising and dissimulation, in the changes that were made, and their Cruelty, when power was put in their hands, were so scandalous, that it is scarce possible to write of them, with that softness of stile, that becomes an Historian.

The  
Queens  
Character.

The Queen had been bred to some more than ordinary knowledge : A forward sort of Vertue, and a Melancholy Piety, are the best things that can be said of her : she left the Conduct of Affairs wholly in the hands of her Council, and gave her self up to follow all the dictates and humours of the Clergy : and though she esteemed *Pool* beyond them all, yet she imputed the moderateness of his Counsels, rather to his Temper, than to his Judgment : and perhaps thought that the *Pope*, who pressed all Princes to set up Courts of Inquisition, for extirpating of Heresie, was more likely to be Infallible than the Cardinal : and as Princes were required by the fourth Council in the *Lateran*, to extirpate Hereticks, under the pain of forfeiting their Dominions ; so the *Pope* had set out a Decree this Year, by the advice of all his Cardinals, confirming all Canons



Canons against Hereticks, declaring that such Princes, as fell into Heresie, did thereby forfeit all their Rights, without any special sentence, and that any that could, might seize on their Dominions. The Bishops had also this to say for their Severities, that by the Oath which they took at their Consecrations, they were bound to *persecute Hereticks with all their might*: so that the Principles of that Religion, working on sower and revengeful tempers, it was no wonder that Cruel Councils were more acceptable than moderate ones.

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THE HISTORY OF THE

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# BOOK IV.

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## OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE REFORMATION

In the beginning of  
Qu. ELIZABETH's Reign.

**T**HE Morning after Queen *Mary* died, the Lord Chancellor went to the House of Lords, and communicated to them the News of Her death, and then sent for the Commons, and declared it to them: and added, that the Crown was now devolved on their present Queen *Elizabeth*,  
 Z whose

Qu. *Elizabeth* Pro-  
claimed,

whose Title they were resolved to proclaim: This was Echoed with repeated Acclamations, which were so full of Joy, that it appeared how weary the Nation was of the Cruel and weak administration of affairs, under the former Reign, and that they hoped for better times under the next. And indeed the Proclaiming the new Queen, both at *Westminster*, and in the City of *London*, was received with such unusual transports of Joy, as gave the Melancholy Priests, just cause to fear a new Revolution in matters of Religion; and though the Queen's Death affected them with a very sensible sorrow, yet the Joy in this change was so great, and so Universal, that a sad look was thought Criminal, and the Priests were glad to vent their griefs at their forsaken Altars, which were now like to be converted again to Communion Tables.

The Queen  
came to  
*London*.

The Queen came from *Hatfield*, where she had lived private, to *London*. The Bishops met Her at *Highbury*, she received them all kindly, only she lookt on *Bonner* as defiled with so much blood, that it seemed indecent to treat him with the sweetness, that always attends the beginnings of Reigns: for common Civility to a Person so polluted, might seem some countenance to his Crimes. She past through *London*, in the midst of all the Joys, that People, delivered from the Terror of Fires and Slavery, could express: She quickly shewed, that she was resolved to retain no Impres-

sions



sions of the hardships she had met with in her Sister's time, and treated those that had used her worst, with great gentleness, *Jennetfield* himself not excepted; only with a sharpness of raillery, she used to call him her *Jaylor*. She gave notice of her coming to the Crown to all foreign Princes, and writ particular acknowledgments to King *Philip*, for the good offices he had done her. Among the rest, she writ to Sir *Edward Karn*, that was her Sisters Ambassadour at *Rome*. But the *Pope* in his usual stile told him, that *England* was a Fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high Presumption in her, to take the Crown without his consent, especially she being illegitimate: but he said, if she would renounce her Pretensions, and refer her self wholly to him, she might expect from him all the favour, that could consist with the dignity of the Apostolick See. The Queen hearing this, recalled *Karn's* power; but he being a zealous Papist, continued still at *Rome*.

*Philip* proposed Marriage to the Queen, and undertook to procure a Dispensation for it, from *Rome*: But the Queen, as she continued all her life averse to that state of life, so she knew how unacceptable a stranger, and particularly a *Spaniard*, would be to her People: She did not much value the *Pope's* Dispensation, and if two Sisters might marry the same Person, then two Brothers might likewise marry the same Woman: which would have overthrown

*Philip* proposes marriage to the Queen, but in vain.

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all the Arguments for her Father's Divorce with Queen *Catherine*, upon which the Validity of her Mothers Marriage, and her legitimation did depend. Yet though she firmly resolved not to marry King *Philip*, she thought, that during the Treaty at *Cambray*, it was not fit to put him quite out of hopes: so he sent to *Rome* for a Dispensation, but the *French* sent to oppose it, and set up a Pretension for the young Queen of *Scotland*, as the righteous Heir to the Crown of *England*.

The Coun-  
sels about  
changing  
Religion.

The Queen continued to imploy most of her Sisters Privy-Councillours, and they had turned so often before, in matters of Religion, that it was not likely they would be Intractable in that point: but to these she added divers others; the most Eminent of whom, were Sir *Will. Cecyl*, and Sir *Nicolas Bacon*. She ordered all, that were Imprisoned on the account of Religion, to be set at liberty: upon which one, that used to talk pleasantly, told her, the four Evangelists continued still Prisoners, and that the People longed much to see them at liberty: She answered, she would talk with themselves, and know their own mind. Some proposed the annulling all Queen *Mary's* Parliaments, because force was used in the first, and the Writs for another were not lawful, since the Title of *Supream Head* was left out in the Summons, before it was taken away by Law: but it was thought a Precedent of dangerous Consequence, to an-

nul

in Parliaments upon Errors in Writs, or particular disorders: The Queen desired, that all the changes that should be made, might be so managed, as to breed as little division among her People, as was possible: She did not like the Title of *Supream Head*, as importing too great an Authority. She loved Magnificence in Religion, as she affected it in all other things; this made her incline to keep Images still in Churches: and that the Popish party might be offended as little as was possible, she intended to have the manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament defined in general terms, that might comprehend all sides. A Scheme was formed of the Method, in which it was most advisable for the Queen to proceed, and put in *Cecyl's* hands.

'It was thought necessary to do nothing  
'till a Parliament were called: The Queen  
'had reason to look for all the mischief that  
'the *Pope* could do her, who would set on  
'the *French*, and by their means, the *Scots*,  
'and perhaps the *Irish*, against her. The  
'Clergy, and those that were employed in  
'Queen *Mary's* time, would oppose it; and  
'do what they could to inflame the Nation:  
'and the greater part of the People loved  
'the Pomp of the old Ceremonies. It was  
'therefore proposed, that the Queen should  
'on any terms make Peace with *France*;  
'and encourage the Party in *Scotland*, that  
'desired a Reformation. The Clergy were  
'generally hated for their Cruelty, and it

A Scheme  
proposed.

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'would be easie to bring them within the Statute of *Premunire*: Care was also to be taken to expose the former Councillours, for the ill conduct of affairs in *Q. Mary's* time, and so to lessen their credit. It was also proposed to look well to the Commissions, both for the Peace and the Militia, and to the Universities. Some Learned Men were to be ordered, to consider what alterations were fit to be made, and by what steps they should proceed. It was thought fit to begin with the Communion in both kinds.

The Impatience of some.

3. 1

27 Decemb.

Now did the Exiles, that had fled beyond Sea, return again; and some zealous People began, in many places, to break Images, and set up King *Edward's* Service again. Upon this the Queen ordered, that the Litany, and other parts of the Service should be said in *English*, and that no Elevation should be used in the Mass: but required her Subjects by Proclamation, to avoid all Innovations, and use no other forms, but those that she kept up in her Chappel, till it should be otherwise appointed in Parliament. She ordered her Sister's Funeral to be performed with the ordinary Magnificence: *White*, Bishop of *Winchester*, that Preached the Sermon, not only extolled her Government much, but made severe Reflections on the present state of affairs; for which he was confined to his House for some time.

Many Sees were now vacant: So one of the first things that came under Consultation,



sultation, was the finding out fit Men for them. Dr. *Parker* was pitched on, as the fittest for the See of *Canterbury*: He had been Chaplain to *Anne Boleyn*, and had been employed in instructing the Queen, in the Points of Religion, when she was young: He was well known to Sir *Nicolas Bacon*, and both he and *Cecyl* gave so high a Character of him, that it meeting with the Queen's particular esteem, made them resolve on advancing him: but as soon as he knew it, he used all the Arguments he possibly could against it, both from the weakness of his Body, and his unsuitness for so great a charge. He desired that he might be put in some small Benefice of 20. Nobles a Year; So far was he from aspirings to great Wealth, or high Dignities: and as *Cranmer* had done before him, he continued for many Months so adverse to it, that it was very hard to overcome him. Such Promotions are generally, if not greedily sought after, yet at least willingly enough undertaken: but this looked liker the practises in Ancient than Modern times. In the best Ages of the Church, instead of that Ambitus, which has given such scandal to the World in later times, it was ordinary for Men to flye from the offer of great Preferments, and to retire to a Wilderness, or a Monastery, rather than undertake a charge, which they thought above their Merit or Capacity to discharge. And this will still shew it self in all such as have a just sense of the Pastoral care, and consider the discharging that, more than the raising

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or enriching themselves or their Families. And it was thought no small honour to the Reformation, that the two chief Instruments that promoted it, *Crammer* and *Parker*, gave such evidences of a Primitive Spirit, in being so unwillingly advanced.

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*Bacon*  
made Lord  
Keeper.

The Seals were taken from *Heath*, and put in *Bacon's* hands, who was declared Lord Keeper, and had all the Dignity and Authority of the Chancellors Office without the Title, which was perhaps an effect of his great Modesty, that adorned his other great qualities. As he was Eminent in himself, so he was happy in being Father to the Great Sir *Francis Bacon*, one of the chief Glories of the *English* Nation.

The Queen  
is Crown-  
ed.

On the 13th. of *January*, the Queen was Crowned: When she entred into her Chariot at the *Tower*, she offered up an humble acknowledgment to God, for delivering her out of that Lions Den, and preserving her to that Joyful Day. She passed through *London* in great Triumph, and received all the expressions of Joy from her People; with so much sweetness, as gained as much on their Hearts, as her Sisters sowness had alienated them from her. Under one of the Triumphal Arches, a Child came down, as from Heaven, representing *Truth* with a *Bible* in his hand, which she received on her Knees, and kissed it, and said, she preferred that above all the other Presents that were that Day made her: She was Crown-  
ed

ed by *Oglethorp*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, for all the other Bishops refused to assist at it; and he only could be prevailed on to do it. They perceived that she intended to make changes in Religion, and though many of them had changed often before, yet they resolved now to stick firmer to that which they had so lately professed, and for which they had shed so much Blood.

The Parliament was opened on the 25th. *A Parliament is called.* of *January*; *Bacon* made a long Speech, both concerning matters of Religion, and the State of the Nation. He desired they would examine the former Religion, without heat or partial affection; and that all reproaches might be forborn, and extreams avoided: and that things might be so settled, that all might agree in an Uniformity, in Divine Worship. He laid open the errors of the former Reign, and aggravated the loss of *Calais*: but shewed, that it could not be easily recovered. He made a high Panegyrick of the Queen, but when he shewed the necessities she was in, he said, she would desire no supply, but what they should freely and chearfully offer. The House of Commons began at a Debate, Whether the want of the Title of *Supream Head* in the enumeration of the Queen's Titles, made a Nullity in the Writs, by which this and some former Parliaments had been summoned: but they concluded in the Negative.

The

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1559.  
The Peace  
at Cambray.

The Treaty at *Cambray* stuck chiefly at the restitution of *Calais*: and King *Philip* for a great while insisted so positively on it, that he refused to make Peace on other terms. *England* had lost it by a War, in which they engaged on his account; so in honour he was bound to see to it. But when the hopes of his marrying the Queen vanished, and when he saw she was going to make changes in Religion, he grew more careless of her Interests, and told the *English* Ambassadors, that unless they would enter into a League for keeping up the War six Years longer, he must submit to the necessity of his affairs, and make Peace. So the Queen listened to Propositions sent her from *France*. She complained of the Queen of *Scotland's* assuming the Title and Arms of *England*: It was answered, that since she carried the Title and Arms of *France*, she had no reason to quarrel much on that account. She saw she could not make War with *France* alone, and knew that *Philip* had made a separated Peace. She had no mind to begin her Reign with a War, that would probably be unsuccessful, or demand Subsidies that would be so grievous, as that thereby she might lose the affections of her People. The loss of *Calais* was no reproach on her, but fell wholly on her Sister's Memory: and since she intended to make some changes in matters of Religion, it was necessary to be at quiet with her Neighbours: Upon this, she resolved to make Peace with *France*, on the best terms that could be obtained.



tained. It was agreed, that at the end of eight Years, *Calais* should either be restored, or 500000. Crowns should be payed the Queen : yet if, during that time, she made War, either on *France*, or *Scotland*, she was to forfeit her right to *Calais*. *Aymouth* in *Scotland* was to be rased, and all differences on the Borders there, were to be determined, by some deputed on both sides ; this being adjusted, a General Peace between the Crowns of *England*, *France* and *Spain* was concluded : and thus the Queen being freed from the dangerous consultations, that the continuance of a War might have involved her in, was the more at liberty to settle matters at home.

The first Bill, that was brought to try the Temper of the Parliament, was for the Restitution of the Tenth and First-fruits to the Crown ; against this, all the Bishops protested, but that was all the opposition made to it. By it, not only that Tax was of new laid on the Clergy, but all the Impropriated Benefices, which Queen *Mary* had surrendred, were restored to the Crown.

Acts pass  
in Parlia-  
ment.

After this, the Commons made an Address to the Queen, desiring her to choose such a Husband, as might make both her self, and the Nation happy. She received this very kindly, since they had neither limited her to time, nor Nation : but declared, that as hitherto she had lived with great satisfaction in a single state, and had refused

The Com-  
mons pray  
the Queen  
to marry.

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refused the Propositions that had been made her, both in her Brothers and Sisters reign, so she had no Inclination to change her course of life. If ever she did it, she would take care, that it should be for the good, and to the satisfaction of her People. She thought she was married to the Nation at her Coronation, and looked on her People, as her Children ; and she would be well contented, if her Tombstone might tell Posterity, *Here lies a Queen that reigned so long, and lived and dyed a Virgin.* There was little more progress made in this matter, save, that a Committee was appointed by both Houses, to consider what should be the Authority of the Person, whom the Queen might happen to marry ; but she sent them a Message, to proceed to other affairs, and let that alone.

Her Title  
to the  
Crown ac-  
knowledg-  
ed.

A Bill for the Recognition of her Title to the Crown was put in : It was not thought necessary to Repeal the Sentence of her Mothers Divorce, for the Crown purged all defects : and it was thought needless to look back unto a thing, which could not be done, without at least casting some reproach on her Father ; so it was in general words Enacted, ‘ That they did assuredly ‘ believe and declare, that by the Laws of ‘ God, and the Realm, she was their lawful ‘ Queen, and was rightly and lineally descended. This was thought a much wiser way, than if they examined the Sentence of Divorce, that past, upon the Confession of

of a Precontract, which must have revived the remembrance of things that were better left in silence.

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Bills were put in for the *English Service*, for reviving King *Edward's* Laws, and for annexing the Supremacy again to the Crown. To that, concerning the Supremacy, two Temporal Lords, and nine Bishops, with the Abbot of *Westminster* dissented. It was proposed to revive the Law, for making the Bishops by Letters-Patents, as was in King *Edward's* time, but they choosed rather to revive the Act for Electing them, made in the 25. *Hen. 8.* They revived all Acts made against the *Pope's* power, in King *Henry's* time, and repealed those, made by Queen *Mary*. They enacted an Oath, for acknowledging the Queen *Supream Governour in all causes, and over all Persons*: Those that refused it, were to forfeit all Offices that they held, either in Church or State, and to be under a disability, during life. If any should advance the authority of a Foreign Power; for the first offence, they were to be fined, or imprisoned; for the second, to be in a *Præmunire*; and the third was made *Treason*: The Queen was also impowered to give Commissions, for Judging and Reforming Ecclesiastical matters; who were limited to judge nothing to be Heresie, but what had been already so judged by the authority of the Scriptures, or the first four General Councils. All Points that were not decided,

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ded, either by exprefs words of Scripture, or by those Councils, were to be referred to the Parliament and Convocation. The Title of *Supream Head* was changed, partly, because the *Queen* had some scruples about it; and partly to moderate the opposition, which the Popish party might otherwise make to it: and the refusing the Oath was made no other way Penal, but that all Offices or Benefices were forfeited upon it, which was a great mitigation of the severity in King *Henry's* time. The Bishops are said to have made several Speeches against this, in the House of Lords: but that which goes under the name of *Heath's* Speech must be a forgery; for in it the Supremacy is called a new and unheard of thing, which could not have flowed from one that had sworn it so often, both under King *Henry*, and King *Edward*. *Tonstall* came not to this Parliament, and he was so offended with the Cruelties of the last Reign, that he had withdrawn himself into his Diocess: where he burnt none himself, upon that it was now thought, that he was so much alienated from those Methods, that some had great hopes of his declaring for the Reformation. *Heath* had been likewise very moderate, nor were any burnt under him. Upon the power given the *Queen*, to appoint some to Reform and direct all Ecclesiastical matters, was the Court, called the *High Commission Court*, founded: which indeed was nothing, but the sharing that authority, which was in one Person in King *Henry's* time, into many



many hands: for that Court had no other authority, but that which was lodged formerly in *Cromwell*, as the King's Vicegerent, and was now thought too great to be trusted to one Man.

Great complaints were made of seditious Sermons, preached by the Popish Clergy: upon which, the *Queen* followed the Precedent that her Sister had made, and forbid all Preaching, excepting only by such, as obtained a Licence under the Great Seal for it: She likewise sent an Order to the Convocation, requiring them, under the pains of a *Premunire*, to make no Canons. Yet the lower House, in an Address to the upper House, declared for the Corporal Presence, and that the Mass was a Propitiatory Sacrifice, and for the Supremacy, and that matters of Religion fell only under the Cognisance of the Pastors of the Church. The greatest part of both Universities had also set their hands to all these Points, except the last.

Preaching  
without  
Licence  
forbidden.

This, it seems, was the rather added by the Clerks of Convocation, to hinder a publick Conference, which the *Queen* had appointed, between the Bishops and the Reformed Divines. It was first proposed to *Heath*, who was still a Privy Councillour, and he, after some Conference about it, with his Brethren, accepted of it. Nine of a side were to dispute about three Points: Worship in an Unknown Tongue, the power that every particular Church had to alter Rites and Cere-

A publick  
Confe-  
rence a-  
bout Re-  
ligion.

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Ceremonies, and the Masse's being a Propitiatory Sacrifice, for the Dead and the Living: All was to be given in Writing: The Bishops were to begin in every Point, and they were to interchange their Papers, and answer them. The last of *March* was the first day of Conference, which held in *Westminster* Abby, in the presence of the Privy Council, and both Houses of Parliament. The Bishop of *Winchester* pretended, there had been some mistake in the Order, and that their Paper was not quite finished: but that Dr. *Cole* should deliver in discourse what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order, that it could be Copied out. The secret of this was, The Bishops had resolved openly to Vindicate their Doctrine, but not to give any Papers, or enter into dispute with Hereticks, or so far to acknowledge the Queen's Supremacy, as to engage in Conferences, at her command. *Cole* was observed to read almost all he said, though he affected to be thought only to deliver a discourse so, as if most part of it had been Extemporary.

Argu-  
ments for  
& against  
the Wor-  
ship in an  
unknown  
Tongue.

The substance of it was, that though the Worship in a known Tongue had been appointed in the Scriptures, yet the Church had power to change it, as she changed the Sabbath, and had appointed the Sacrament to be received fasting, though it was Instituted after Supper: to eat blood was forbid, and a Community of goods was set up by the Apostles; yet it was in the power of the Church to alter

alter these things; he enlarged on the evil of Schism, and the necessity of adhering to the Church of Rome. Vulgar Tongues changed daily, but the *Latine* was the same, & was spread over many Countries. The People might reap profit from Prayers, which they understood not, as well as absent Persons. The Queen of *Ethiopia's* Eunuch read *Isaiah*, though he understood him not; and *Philip* was sent to explain that Prophecy to him.

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*Horn*, when this was ended, read the Paper drawn by the Reformers; he began it with a Prayer, and a Protestation of their sincerity. They founded their Assertion on Saint *Paul's* Epistle to the *Corinthians*; in which he enjoined them to pray with understanding, that so the Unlearned might say, *Amen*, and that nothing should be spoken, that might give an uncertain sound, but that all things should be done to edification; and though the speaking with strange Tongues, was then an extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghost, yet he forbids the using it, where there was not an Interpreter. Things so expressly enjoined could not be indifferent, or fall under the power of the Church. The *Jews* had their Worship in the Vulgar Tongue, so had also the most barbarous Nations, when converted to Christianity. The natural use of Speech was, that every thing which was said, might be understood: Quotations were brought, to shew that Psalms were daily sung in the Vulgar Tongue among all Nations.

A a

When

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When they ended their Paper, it was received with a shout of applause; and was put in the Lord Keeper's hands, signed by them all. But the Bishops refused to deliver theirs. The next day was appointed for considering the second Point, but the Bishops resolved to go no further in the Conference; for they saw by the applause of the People, that the Audience was more favourable to the other side: so the next day of Meeting, they offered an answer to the Paper given in the former day by the Reformers. The Lord Keeper told them, that according to the Order laid down, they were first to go through the three Points, before they might be suffered to reply: but they said, *Cole* had the former day only given his own sense in an Extemporary discourse. Their foul dealing in this was condemned by the whole Audience, so the Lord Keeper required them to go to the second Point: but they refused to begin, and moved that the other side should be made to begin; and though the Lord Keeper shewed them, that this was contrary to the Order agreed on before-hand, yet they continued all resolute, and would not proceed any further; *Ferknam* only excepted: but he said, he could do nothing alone, since the rest would not joyn with him. The Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln* said, the Faith of the Church ought not to be examined, except in a Synod of Divines: and it gave too great an encouragement to Hereticks, to dispute with them: and that both the *Queen*

and



and her Council deserved to be excommunicated, for suffering them to argue against the Catholick Faith, before an Unlearned Multitude. Upon this, they were sent to the Tower, and the Conference broke up: but the Reformers thought the advantage was much on their side, and that things were now carried much more fairly, than had been in those Conferences and Disputes, that were in the beginning of the former Reign. The Papists, on the other hand, said, it was visible the Audience was prepossessed; and that the Conference was appointed only to make way for the changes, that the Parliament was then about, with the Pomp of a Victory; and therefore as they blamed the Bishops, for undertaking it, so they justified them for breaking it off.

The Book of Common-Prayer was now revised, the most considerable alteration was, that the express Declaration, which was made in the second Book, set out by King *Edward*, against the Corporal Presence, was left out, that so none might be driven out of the Communion of the Church, upon that account. The matter was left undetermined, as a speculative Point, in which People were left at liberty. The Book of Ordination was not specially mentioned in the Act, which gave occasion to *Bonner* afterwards, to question the Legality of Ordinations made by it. But it had been made a part of the Common-Prayer-Book in the 5th. year of King *Edward*; and the whole

The English Service is again set up.

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Book, then set out, was now confirmed: so that by a special Act made some years after this, it was declared, that that Office was understood to be a part of it.

Speeches  
made a-  
gainst it  
by some  
Bishops.

When the Bill for the *English Service* was put in to the House of Lords, *Heath*, and *Scot* Bishop of *Chester* and *Ferkyam*, made long Speeches against it, grounded chiefly on the Authority of the Church, the Antiquity of the established Religion, and Novelty of the other; which was changed every day, as appeared in King *Edward's* time. They said, the consent of the Catholick Church, and the perpetual succession in *St. Peter's* Chair, ought to have more authority, than a few Preachers risen up of late. They also enlarged much against the Sacrilege, the robbing of Churches, and the breaking of Images, that had been committed by the Reformers, and those that favoured them. What was said in opposition to this in the House of Lords, is not known, but a great deal of it may be gathered from the Paper which the Reformed Divines drew upon the second Point, about which they were appointed to dispute, of the power that every Church had to Reform it self. This they founded on the Epistles of *St. Paul* to the particular Churches, and *St. John's* to the Angels of the seven Churches. In the first three Ages there were no General Councils, but every Bishop in his Diocess, or such few Bishops as could Assemble together, condemned Heresies, or deter-

determined matters that were contested; so did also the Orthodox Bishops, after *Arianism* had so over-spread the World, that even the See of *Rome* was defiled with it. And abuses were condemned in many places without staying for a general concurrence: though that was then more possible, when all was under one Emperour, than it was at present. Even in Queen *Mary's* time, many superstitions, as Pilgrimages, & the worshipping of Reliques were laid aside. Therefore they concluded, that the Queen might by her own authority, reform even the Clergy, as *Hezekiah* and *Josiah* had done under the old Law. When the Act past in the House of Lords, eight Spiritual Lords, and nine Temporal Lords, protested against it; among whom was the Marquess of *Winchester*, Lord Treasurer. Another Act past with more opposition, that the Queen might reserve some Lands belonging to Bishopricks to her self, as they fell void, giving in lieu of them impropriated Tithes to the value of them: but this was much opposed in the House of Commons, who apprehended, that under this pretence, there might new spoils be made of Church-lands, so that upon a Division of the House 90. were against it, but 133. were for it, and so it was past. All Religious Houses founded by the late Queen, were suppressd and united to the Crown. The deprivation of the Popish Bishops in King *Edward's* time was declared valid in Law, by which all the Leases which had been made by those that were

pat in their Sees, were good in Law: A Subsidy, and two Tenths, and two Fifteenths, with the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, were given, and so the Parliament was dissolved, on the 8th. of May.

Some Bills were proposed, but not past; one was for restoring the Bishops deprived by Queen Mary, who were Barlow, Scory and Coverdale: but the first of these had been made to resign, and the last being extrem old, resolved to follow Latimer's example, and not return to his See. So it was not thought worth the while to make an Act for Scory alone. Another Bill, that was laid aside, was, for restoring all Churchmen to their Benefices, that had been turned Out, because they were married: but it seems, it was not thought decent enough to begin with such an Act. Another Bill that came to nothing, was, for empowering XXXII. Persons to revise the Ecclesiastical Laws; but as this last was then let fall, so to the great prejudice of this Church, it has slept ever since.

Many Bishops turned out.

After the Parliament was dissolved, the Oath of Supremacy was tendered to the Bishops, and all, except *Kitchin*, Bishop of *Landaffe*, refused it. *Tonstall* continued unresolved till September, and so long did the Queen delay the putting it to him: But at last he refused it, and so lost his Bishoprick. It was generally believed that he quitted it, rather because being extrem old,



old, he thought it indecent to forsake his Brethren, and to be still changing, than out of any scruple he had in his Conscience, concerning it. All the Bishops were at first put under confinement, but they were soon after set at liberty: only *Bonner*, *White* and *Watson*, were kept Prisoners. Many complaints were brought against *Bonner*, for the Cruelties he had been guilty of against Law, and the Tortures he had put his Prisoners to himself: but yet the Queen resolved not to stain the beginnings of her Reign with blood, and the Reformed Divines were, in imitation of *Nazianzen*, upon the like revolution, in the *Roman Empire*; exhorting their Followers, not to think of revenging themselves, but to leave that to God. *Heath* lived privately at his own House, in which he was sometimes visited by the Queen. *Tunstall* and *Thirleby* were appointed to live in *Lambeth*, with the new Archbishop. *White* and *Watson* were morose, and haughty Men, much addicted to the School Divinity, which has been often observed, to incline People to an overvaluing of themselves. All the other Bishops, except *Pates*, *Scar* and *Goldwell*, that had been Bishops of *Worcester*, *Chester*, and *St. Asaph*, continued still in *England*: but these had leave to go beyond Sea. A few Gentlemen, and all the Nuns went likewise out of *England*; and so gentle was the Queen, that she denied that Liberty to none that asked it.

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The Queen  
inclined  
to keep  
Images in  
Churches.

The Queen inclined to keep Images ſtill in Churches, and though the Reformed Divines made many applications, to divert her from it; yet ſhe was not eaſily wrought on. The Divines put all their Reaſons againſt them in Writing, and deſired her to commit the determining of that matter, to a Synod of Biſhops and Divines, and not to take up an unalterable reſolution upon Political Conſiderations. They laid before her the ſecond Commandment againſt making Images for God, and the Curſe pronounced againſt thoſe that made an Image, and put it in a *ſecret place*, that is, in an Oratory. The Book of Wiſdom calls them a *ſnare for the feet of the Ignorant*, S. John charged the Chriſtians to *beware of Idols*, and not only of worſhipping them. The uſe of them fed ſuperſtition, and ended in Idolatry, and would breed great Diviſions among themſelves. They ſhewed that Images were not allowed in the Church, till the 7th. Century, and the Conteſts that were raiſed about them, in the *Eastern Empire*, occaſioned ſuch diſtractions, as in a great meaſure made way for its ruine, and laid it open to the *Mahometans*. Theſe things wrought ſo much on the Queen, that ſhe was at laſt content they ſhould be put down.

A General  
Viſitation.

It was now reſolved to ſend Viſiters over *England*, ſo Injunctions were prepared for them. Thoſe appointed in the firſt year of King *Edward*, were now renewed with ſome little

little alteration : To which, ' Rules were  
' added concerning the Marriages of the  
' Clergy, for avoiding the scandals given  
' by them. The Clergy were also required  
' to use Habits, according to their degrees  
' in the Universities. All People were to  
' resort to their own Parish Church ; and  
' some were to be appointed to examine and  
' give notice of those who went not to  
' Church : all slanderous words were for-  
' bidden. No Books were to be Printed  
' without Licence : Inquiry was ordered to  
' be made into all the proceedings against  
' Hereticks, during the late Reign : Reve-  
' rence was to be expressed, when the name  
' *Jesus* was pronounced : An Explanation  
' was made of the supremacy, that the  
' Queen did not pretend to any authority  
' for Minist'ring Divine Service ; but only  
' that she had the sovereignty over all Per-  
' sons, and that no foreign Power was to  
' be acknowledged : and such as had scrup-  
' les about it, might declare, that they  
' took it only in that sense. A Commu-  
' nion Table was to be set, where the Al-  
' tars stood formerly, but on Sacrament  
' Days, it was to be brought into the  
' most convenient place in the Chancel.  
' The Bread for the Sacrament was to  
' have no figure on it, and to be thicker  
' than Wafers. The bidding Prayer was  
' appointed to be the same, that had been  
' used in King *Edward's* time, only an Ex-  
' pression that imported a Prayer for the  
' Dead, was changed. The obliging Church-  
men



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men to go always in their Habits, was thought a good mean to make them observe the Decencies of their Function, when their Habit declared what they were, and would be a reproach to them, if they behaved themselves unsuitably to it. The bowing at the name *Jesus* was considered, as such an acknowledgment of his Divinity, as was made by standing up at the Creed, or the *Gloria Patri*. The liberty given to explain in what sense the Oath of Supremacy was taken, gave a great Evidence of the Moderation of the Queen's Government; that she would not lay snares for her People, which is always a sign of a wicked and Tyrannical Prince. But the Queen reckoned, that if such Comprehensive Methods could be found out, as would once bring her People under an Union, though perhaps there might remain a great diversity of Opinion, that would wear off with the present Age, and in the next Generation all would be of one mind. And this had the good effect that was expected from it, till the *Pope* and the King of *Spain* began to open Seminaries beyond Sea, for a Mission to *England*; which have since that time been the occasion of almost all the distractions this Nation has laboured under.

The High-  
Commis-  
sion Courts.

The Queen granted Commissions for the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, consisting most of the Laity; some few of the Clergy being mixed with them: 'Impower-  
'ing them to visit the Churches, to suspend  
'or



to deprive unworthy Clergymen, to proceed against scandalous Persons, by Imprisonment or Church-censures; to reserve Pensions for such, as resigned their Benefices, and to restore such as had been unlawfully put out in the late Reign. By these reserved Pensions, as the Clergy that were turned out, were kept from extream want, so they were in great measure bound to their good behaviour by them; The Impowering Laymen to deprive Churchmen, or Excommunicate, could not be easily excused, but was as justifiable, as the Commissions to Lay-chancellours for those things were. There are 9400. Benefices in England, but of all these, the number of those who chose to resign, rather than to take the Oath, was very inconsiderable. Fourteen Bishops, six Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Archdeacons, fifteen Heads of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries, & eighty Rectors, was the whole number of those that were turned out. But it was believed, that the greatest part complied against their Consciences, and would have been ready for another turn, if the Queen had died, while that Race of Incumbents lived, and the next Successor had been of another Religion.

The See of Canterbury was now to be filled: but Parker stood out long, before he would submit to a burden, which he thought disproportioned to his strength. He said, he was afraid of incurring God's Indig-

Parker is very unwillingly made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Indignation, for accepting a trust which he could not discharge, as he ought, having neither strength of body, nor mind, equal to it: he was threatned with Imprisonment in case of refusal; but he said, he would suffer it chearfully, rather than engage in a station, that was so far above him: and he had such a sense of the Episcopal Function, that he resolved never to aspire to it. He thought he had but two or three years more of life before him, and desired to imploy these well, and not to be advanced to a place, in which he knew, he could not answer the expectations, that some had of him: he wished the Queen would seek out a Man, that were neither Arrogant, Faint-hearted, nor Covetous: and expressed the great apprehensions he had, that some Men, who he perceived, were Men still, notwithstanding all the Trials they past through of late, would revive those heats that were begun beyond Sea, and that they would fall a quarrelling among themselves, which would prove a pleasant diversion to the Papists. But when by many repeated commands, he was required to accept of that great advancement, he at last writ to the Queen her self, and protested, 'that out of regard to God, and 'the good of her service, he held himself 'bound in Conscience, to declare to her, 'his great unworthiness, for so high a Function; and so, as prostrate at her feet, he 'begged her to press it on him no further: 'for that Office did require a Man of more

'Learn-

Learning, Vertue and Experience, than he perfectly knew was in himself. But as these denials, so earnestly and frequently repeated, shewed, that he had certainly some of the necessary qualifications, which were true humility, and a contempt of the World; so they tended to increase the esteem, which the Queen, and her Ministers had of him: And they persisting in their Resolution, he was at last forced to yield to it. He was upon the sending of the *Conge d'eslire*, chosen by the Chapter of *Canterbury*; and in *September*, the Queen issued out a Warrant for his Consecration, which was directed to *Tonstall*, *Bourn* and *Pool* (the last was Cardinal *Pool*'s Brother, and was Bishop of *Peterborough*) and to *Kitchin*, *Barlow* and *Scory*: by which it appears, that there was then some hope of gaining the former three to obey the Laws, and to continue in their Sees: but they refusing to execute this, there was a second Warrant directed to *Kitchin*, *Barlow*, *Scory* and *Coverdale*, and to *Bale*, Bishop of *Ossory*, and two suffragan Bishops to Consecrate *Parker*: and on the 17th. of *December*, he was Consecrated by four of these, according to the Book of Ordination, set out under King *Edward*, only the giving the Pastoral Staff was now omitted.

After this *Parker* ordained *Grindall* for the See of *London*; *Cox* for *Ely*, *Horn* for *Winchester*, *Sandys* for *Worcester*, *Merick* for *Bangor*, *Young* for *St. Davids*, *Bullingham* for The other Bishops consecrated.

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for *Lincoln*, *Jewell* for *Salisbury*, *Davis* for *St. Asaph*, *Guest* for *Rochester*, *Berkley* for *Bath and Wells*, *Bentham* for *Coventry and Litchfield*, *Alley* for *Exeter*, and *Parre* for *Peterborough*; *Barlow* and *Scory* were put in the Sees of *Chichester* and *Hareford*. The Sees of *Tork* and *Duresme* were kept vacant a Year, upon some hopes that *Heath* and *Tonstall* would have conformed; but in the Year 1561. *Young* was translated from *St. Davids* to *Tork*; and *Pilkinton* was put in *Duresme*.

The Fable  
of the  
Naggs-  
head con-  
futed.

All this is opened the more particularly, for discovering the Impudence of the Contrivance of the *Naggs-Head* Ordination, which was first vented in King *James's* time, above forty Years after this. It was then said, that the Elect Bishops met at the *Naggs-Head* Tavern in *Cheapside*, and were in great disorder, because *Kitchin* refused to consecrate them; upon which *Scory* made them all kneel down, and laid the Bible on their Heads, saying, *Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God sincerely*; and that this was all the Ordination that they ever had: and to confirm this, it was pretended, that *Neale*, one of *Bonner's* Chaplains, watched them into the Tavern, and saw all that was done through the Key-hole. This was given out, when all that were concerned in it were dead; yet the old Earl of *Nottingham*, who had seen *Parker's* Consecration, was still alive, and declared, that he saw it done at *Lambeth*, in the Chap-  
pel,



pel, according to the Common-Prayer-Book, and both the Records of the Crown, and the Registers of the See of *Canterbury* do plainly confute this. The Author did also see the Original Instrument then made, describing all the particulars relating to *Parker's* Consecration, preserved still in *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Cambridge*, among the other Manuscripts which he left to that House, in which he had his Education.

The first thing that the Bishops set about, was, the publishing the Doctrine of the Church. In order to this, a Review was made of those Articles, that had been compiled under *Edward* the VI. and some small alterations were made. The most considerable, was, that a long determination, that was made formerly against the Corporal Presence, was now left out; and it was only said, *That the Body of Christ was given and received in a spiritual manner, and that the means by which it was received, was Faith.* Yet in the Original Subscription of the Articles, by both Houses of Convocation, still extant, there was a full declaration made against it, in these words, '*Christ*, when he ascended into Heaven, made his Body immortal, but took not from it the nature of a Body. For still it retains, according to the Scriptures, a true Humane Body, which must be always in one definite place, and cannot be spread into many, or all places at once: since then *Christ* was carried up to Heaven, and is to remain there

The Articles of the Church published.

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to the end of the World, and is to come from thence, and from no other place, to judge the Quick and the Dead; None of the Faithful ought to believe, or profess the Real, or as they call it, the Corporal Presence of his Flesh and Blood in the Eucharist. But the design of the Queen's Council, was, to unite once the whole Nation, into the Communion of the Church; and it was feared, that so express a definition against the Real Presence, would have driven many out of the Communion of the Church, who might have been otherwise kept in it: and therefore it was thought enough to assert only the Spiritual Presence, but that it was not necessary to condemn the Corporal Presence, in such express words; and therefore, though the Convocation had so positively determined this matter, it was thought more conducing to the publick peace, to dash it in the Original Copy, and to suppress it in the Printed Copies.

A Translation of the Bible.

The next thing they took in hand, was a new Translation of the Bible: Several Books of it were given to several Bishops, who were appointed to call for such Divines, as were learned in the *Greek*, or *Hebrew* Tongues, and by their assistance they were to translate that parcel that fell to their share: and so when one had completed that which was assigned to him, he was to offer it to the Correction of those that were appointed to translate the other

other parts, and after every Book had thus  
 past the Censure of all, who were employed **Book IV**  
 in this matter, then it was approved of. **1559.**  
 And so great hast made they in this impor-  
 tant work, that within two or three years,  
 the whole Translation was finished.

There was one thing yet wanting, to **The want**  
 compleat the Reformation of this Church, **of Church**  
 which was the restoring a Primitive Disci- **discipline,**  
 pline, against scandalous Persons, the esta-  
 blishing the Government of the Church in  
 Ecclesiastical hands, and the taking it out  
 of Lay-hands, who have so long profaned  
 it; and have exposed the authority of the  
 Church, and of the Censures of it, chiefly  
 Excommunication to the contempt of the  
 Nation, by which the reverence due to Holy  
 things, is in so great a measure lost, and  
 the dreadfulest of all Censures, is now be-  
 come the most scorned and despised. But  
 upon what reasons, it cannot be now known,  
 this was not carried on with that Zeal; nor  
 brought to that perfection that was neces-  
 sary. The want of Ecclesiastical Discipline,  
 set on some to devise many new Platforms,  
 for the administration of it, in every Parish;  
 all which gave great offence to the Govern-  
 ment, and were so much opposed by it, that  
 they came to nothing. Other differences  
 were raised concerning the Vestments of  
 the Clergy, and some Factions growing up  
 in the Court, these differences were height-  
 ned, by those who intended to serve their  
 own ends, by making the severall Parties  
 B b quarrel

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quarrel with so much animosity, that it should scarce be possible to reconcile them. Since that time, the fatal Division of this Nation, into the Court and Country party, has been the chief occasion of the growth, and continuance of those differences; so that all the attempts which have been made by moderate Men to compose them, have proved ineffectual.

The Reformation in Scotland.

At this time there was a great revolution of affairs in *Scotland*. When there was a probability of bringing the Treaty of *Cambray* to a good effect, the Cardinal of *Lorraine* writ to his Sister, the Queen Regent of *Scotland*, and to the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and let them know the Resolution that was taken, to extirpate Heresie, and exhorted them to use their endeavours for that end. The Queen Regent saw, that by doing this, she would not only break her faith to the Lords, who had hitherto adhered to her, upon the assurance she gave them of her Protection, but that the Peace of *Scotland* would be endangered; for as their Party was strong, so it was not to be doubted, but the Queen of *England* would support them, and so she was not easily brought to follow her Brother's cruel Counsels. But the Bishops shut their eyes upon all dangers, and resolved to strike a terror into the People, by some severe Executions. They began with *Walter Mell*, an old infirm Priest, who had preached in some places against many of the Opinions then received:

ved:



ved: he was particularly accused for having asserted the lawfulness of the Marriage of the Clergy, and for having condemned the Sacrifice of the Mass and Transubstantiation, with some other particulars, all which he confessed, and upon his refusal to abjure them, he was condemned to be burnt. Yet so averse were the People from those Cruelties, that it was not easie to find any that would execute the Sentence: Nor would any do so much as sell a Cord to tie him to the Stake, so that the Archbishop was forced to send for the Cords of his own Pavilion. The old Man expressed great firmness of mind, and such chearfulness in his sufferings, that the People were much affected at it: and this being every where looked on as a Prologue to greater severities, that were to follow, the Nobility and Gentry began to consider what was fit to be done. They had offered a Petition to the Queen Regent the last year, that the worship might be in the Vulgar Tongue, that the Communion might be given in both kinds, and that scandalous Priests might be turned out, and worthy Men be put in their places. The Queen Regent being unwilling to irritate so great a Party, before the *Dauphin* was declared King of Scotland, promised that they should not be punished for having their Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue. In Parliament, they moved for a Repeal of the Laws, for the Bishops proceedings against Hereticks, and that nothing might be judged Heresie, but that which was condemned

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by the Word of God ; but the Queen Regent told them, these things could not pass, because of the Opposition, which was made to them, by the Spiritual Estate; upon that they made a Protestation, that whereas they had modestly moved for a redress of abuses, they were not to be blamed for the ill effects of rejecting their Petition, and the Violences that might follow.

But when the Queen had gained her end, in relation to the *Dauphin*, she ordered a Citation to be served on all the Reformed Preachers: The Earl of *Glencawn* was, upon that, sent to put her in mind of her former promises ; she answered him roughly, 'That maugre all that would take those Mens part, they should be banished *Scotland*; and added, that Princes were bound only to observe their promises, so far as they found it convenient for them to do it. To this he replied, that if she renounced her Promises, they would renounce their obedience to her.

It is first  
set up in  
St. Johnst-  
own.

In St. *Johnstown*, that Party entred into the Churches, and had Sermons publicly in them. The Ministers were coming from all parts, to appear on the 20th. of *May*, for to that day they had been cited; and great numbers came along with them. The Queen apprehending the ill effects of a great Confluence of People, sent them word not to come, and upon this many went home again; yet upon their not appearance, they

were

were all declared Rebels. This foul dealing made many leave her, and go over to those that were met at *St. Johnstown*. And the heat of the People was raised to that pitch, that they broke in upon the Houses of the Monks and Friars, and after they had distributed all that they found in them, except that which the Monks conveyed away to the Poor, they pulled them down to the ground. This provoked the Queen so much, that she resolved to punish that Town, in a most exemplary manner: so she gathered the *French* Souldiers together, with such others, as would joyn with her: but the Earl of *Glencairn* gathered 2500. Men together, and with incredible hast, he marched to that place, where there were now in all 7000. armed Men. This made the Queen afraid to engage with them; so an agreement was made. An oblivion was promised for all that was past; Matters of Religion were referred to a Parliament, and the Queen was to be received into *St. Johnstown*, without carrying her *Frenchmen* with her: But she carried them with her into the Town, and as she put a Garrison in it, so she punished many for what was past; and when her promises were objected to her, she answered, 'Princes were not to be strictly charged with their Promises, especially when they were made to Hereticks; and that she thought it no sin to kill and destroy them all, and then would excuse it as well as could be, when it was done. This turned the Hearts of the whole Nation from

her, and in many places they began to pull down Images, and to rase Monasteries. The Queen Regent represented this to the King of *France*, as done on design to shake off the *French* yoke, and desired a great Force to reduce the Countrey. On the other hand, some were sent over from the Lords, to give a true representation of the matter, and to let him know, that an Oblivion for what was past, and the free Exercise of their Religion for the time to come, would give full satisfaction. The *French* King began now to apprehend, how great a charge the keeping that Kingdom in peace, was like to come to; and saw the danger of the *Scots* casting themselves into the Arms of the Queen of *England*, therefore he sent one, in whom the Constable put an entire confidence to *Scotland*, to bring him a true report of the state of that matter, that was so variously represented: But before he could return, the King of *France* was dead, and the Constable was in disgrace; and all affairs were put in the hands of the Brothers of the House of *Guise*, so that all moderate Councils were now out of doors. The people did so universally rise against the Queen Regent, that she was forced to retire to *Dunbar*-Castle: She was once willing to refer the whole matter to a Parliament: But 2000. Men coming over from *France*, and assurances being sent Her, of a greater Force to follow, she took heart, and came and fortified *Leith*, and again broke her last agreement, upon which the Lords pretended, that



that in their Queens Minority, the Government was chiefly in the States, and that the Regent was only the chief Administrator, and accountable to them: so they resolved to depose her from her Regency.

They objected many Maleadministrations to her, as her beginning a War in the Kingdom, and bringing in strangers to subdue it, her embasing the Coin, governing without consent of the Nobility, & breaking her Faith and Promises to them, upon which they declared that she had fallen from her Regency, and suspended her Power till the next Parliament. The Lords, now called *the Lords of the Congregation*, retired from *Edenburgh* to *Sterlin*: upon which the *French* came to *Edenburgh*, and set up the Masse again in the Churches, then a new Supply came from *France*, commanded by the Marquess of *Elbenfe*, one of the Queen Regents Brothers, so that there were in all 4000. *French* in *Scotland*. But by her having this foreign Force, the whole Nation came to be united against the Queen, and to look on her as a common Enemy. The *Scots*, who had been hitherto animated, and secretly supplied with Money and Ammunition from *England*, were now forced to desire the Queen of *England's* aid more openly: and *France* was now like to be so much divided within it self, that the Queen did not much apprehend a War with that Crown; so she was more easily determined to assist the *Scots*.

The Queen  
Regent is  
deposed.

## Book IV

1559  
The Queen  
of England  
assists the  
Scots.

A Treaty was made between the Duke of Norfolk, and the Scots: they promised to be the Queen's perpetual Allies, and that after the French were driven out of Scotland, they should continue their Obedience to their own Queen: upon which, 2000. Horse, and 6000. Foot, were sent to assist the Scots. These besieged *Lieth*, during which, there were considerable losses on both sides, but the losses on the side of the English were more easily made up, supplies being nearer at hand. The French offered to put *Calais* again in the Queen of England's hands, if she would recall her Forces out of Scotland: She answered on the sudden, that she did not value that Fish-Town, so much as she did the quiet of the Isle of *Brittain*. But she offered to Mediate a Peace between them and the Scots.

10 June.  
The Queen  
Regent  
dies.

Before this could be effected, the Queen Regent of Scotland died, she sent for some of the Scottish Lords in her sickness, and asked them pardon for the Injuries she had done them: She advised them to send both the French and English out of Scotland, and prayed them to continue in their Obedience to their Queen: She also discoursed with one of their Preachers, and declared that she hoped to be saved only by the Merits of *Christ*. She had governed the Nation, before the last year of her life, with such Justice and Prudence, and was so great an Example, both in her own Person, and in the Order of her Court, that if she had died

before

before her Brother's bloody Counsels had involved her in these last passages of her life; she had been the most lamented and esteemed Queen that had been in that Nation, for many Ages. Her own Inclinations were Just and Moderate; and she often said, that if her Counsels might take place, she did not doubt, but she should bring all things again to perfect Tranquillity and Peace: Soon after a Peace was concluded, between *England, France* and *Scotland*: An Oblivion was granted for all that was past; The *French* and *English* were to be sent out of *Scotland*, and all other things were referred to a Parliament. During the Queen's absence, the Kingdom was to be governed by a Council of 12. all Natives; of these the Queen was to name 7. and the States were to choose 5. So both the *English* and *French* were sent out of *Scotland* and the Parliament met in *August*.

In it, all Acts for the former way of Religion were repealed, and a confession of Faith penned by *Knox*, afterwards inserted among the Acts of Parliament, 1567. was confirmed. These Acts were opposed only by three Temporal Lords, who said, they would believe as their Fathers had done: but all the Spiritual Lords, both Bishops, and Abbots, consented to them; and they did dilapidate the Lands and Revenues of the Church in the strangest manner, that was ever known: the Abbots converted their Abbies into Temporal Estates, and the

A Parliament meets, and settles the Reformation.

the Bishops, though they continued Papists still, divided all their Lands among their Bastards or Kindred; and procured confirmations of many of the Grants they gave from *Rome*: by which, that Church was so impoverished, that if King *James* and King *Charles* the First, had not with much zeal, and great endeavours, retrieved some part of the Ancient Revenues, and provided a considerable maintenance for the Inferiour Clergy, all the encouragements to Religion and Learning had been to such a degree withdrawn, that Barbarism must have again over-run that Kingdom. When these Acts thus agreed on in the Parliament of *Scotland*, were sent over to *France*, they were rejected with great scorn; so that the *Scots* began to apprehend a new War: but *Francis* the second's death, soon after delivered them from all their fears: for their Queen having no more the support of so great a Crown, was forced to return home, and govern in such a manner, as that Nation was pleased to submit to.

The Queen  
of England  
the Head  
of all the  
Prote-  
stants,

Thus had the Queen of *England* divided *Scotland* from its ancient dependance on *France*, and had tied it so to her own Interests, that she was not only secure on that side of her Dominions, but came to have so great an interest in *Scotland*, that affairs there, were for most part governed according to the Directions she sent thither. Other Accidents did also concur to give her a great share in all the most Important affairs of *Europe*.



In *France*, upon *Henry* the second's fatal end, great Divisions arose between the Princes of the Blood, and the Brothers of the House of *Guise*, into whose hands the administration of affairs was put, during *Francis* the second's short Reign: It was pretended on the one hand, that the King was not of Age, till he was 22. and that during his Minority, the Princes of the Blood were to Govern by the Advice of the Courts of Parliaments, and the Assembly of Estates: On the other hand, it was said, that the King might assume the Government, and Imploy whom he pleased at 14. A design was laid, in which many of both Religions concurred, for taking the Government out of the hands of the strangers, and seising on the King's Person, but a Protestant, moved by a Principle of Conscience, discovered it. Upon this the Prince of *Conde*, and many others, were seised on, and if the King had not died soon after, they had suffered for it. *Charles* the Ninth succeeding, who was under Age, the King of *Navarre* was declared Regent, but he, though before a Protestant, was drawn into the Papist Interest; and joyned himself with the Queen Mother, and the Constable. A severe Edict was made against the Protestants, but the Execution of it was like to raise great disorders, so another was made in a great Assembly of many Princes of the Blood, Privy Councillours, and 8. Courts of Parliament, allowing the free exercise of that Religion: yet after this, the Duke

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Duke of *Guise* reconciled himself to the Queen Mother, and they resolved to break the Edict : so the Duke of *Guise* happening to pass by a Meeting of Protestants, his Servants offered violence to them; from reproachful words, it went to the throwing of stones ; by one of which the Duke was hurt : upon which his Servants killed 60. of the Protestants, and wounded 200. and upon this the Edict was every where broken. It was said, that the Regent's power did not extend so far, as that he could break so Publick an Edict, and that therefore it was lawful for the Protestants to defend themselves. The Prince of *Conde* set himself at the Head of them, and the King of *Navarre* being killed soon after the breaking out of the War, he, as the first Prince of the Blood, that was of Age, ought to have been declared Regent : so that the Protestants said, their defending themselves was not Rebellion, since they had both the Law and the first Prince of the Blood on their side. The Wars lasted near 30. Years, for in all that time , notwithstanding some Intervals of Peace, the seeds of War were never so rooted out, but that they were ready to spring up, upon every new occasion. In this the Queen Interposed, and supported the Protestant Party, sometimes with Men, but oftner with Money, so that she had near the half of that Kingdom depending on her.

In the *Netherlands*, a long continuance of civil Wars almost on the same account, gave her the like advantages. The King of *Spain*, by endeavouring to set up the Courts of Inquisition in those Provinces, and by keeping some *Spanish* Troops among them, and other excesses in his Government, contrary to the Articles of the *Latus Introitus*, provoked them so much, that they shook off his Yoke: and were supported by the Aid and Money which the Queen sent them. So that the Queen met with such a Conjunction of affairs in the Dominions of those Princes that were next her, of whom only she had reason to be afraid, as scarce any Prince ever had.

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And in the  
*Nether-*  
*lands.*

In foreign Parts, she was the Arbiter of Christendom; and at home things were so happily managed, Trade did so flourish, and Justice was so equally distributed, that she became the wonder of the World. She was Victorious in all her Wars with *Spain*; and no wonder: for it appeared signally in the ruine of the great *Armada*, which *Spain* lookt on as *Invincible*, that Heaven fought for her. She reigned more absolutely over the Hearts, than the Persons of her Subjects. She always followed the true Interests of her People, and so found her Parliaments always ready to comply with her desires, and to grant her Subsidies, as often as she called for them: and as she never asked

The excel-  
lent admi-  
nistration  
of affairs  
in *England*.

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Cathol.

asked them, but when the occasion for them was visible, so after they were granted, if the state of her affairs changed so, that she needed them not, she readily discharged them. *Rome* and *Spain* set many Engines on work, both against her Person and Government: but she still lived and triumphed. In the first ten Years of her Reign, the Papists were so Compliant, that there was no stir made about matters of Religion. Pope *Pius* the fourth condemned the madness of his Predecessor, in that high and provoking Message, which he sent her; and therefore he attempted a reconciliation with her, at two several times: and offered, if she would joyn her self to the See of *Rome*, that he would annul the sentence against her Mothers Marriage, and confirm the *English* service, and the Communion in both kinds. But she refused to enter into any Treaty with him. *Pius* the fifth, that succeeded him in that Chair, resolved to contrive her death, as is related by him, that writes his Life. The unfortunate Queen of *Scotland* was forced to take Sanctuary in *England*; where it was resolved to use her well, and restore her to her Crown and Countrey. But her own officious friends, and the frequent Plots that were laid, for taking away the Queens life, brought on her the Calamities of a long Imprisonment, that ended in a Tragical death: which, though it was the greatest blemish of this Reign, yet was made in some sort just.



justifiable, if not necessary, by the many Attempts that the Papists made on the Queen's Life : and by the Deposition which Pope *Pius* the fifth thundred out against Her ; from which it was inferred, that as long as that Party had the hopes of such a Successor, the Queen's Life was not safe, nor her Government secure.

This led her towards the end of her Reign, to greater severities against those of the *Roman* Communion, of which a Copious Account is given by Sir *Francis Walsingham*, that was for so many Years imployed, either in foreign Embassies, or in the secrets of State at home ; that none knew better than he did, the hidden springs that moved and directed all Her Councils. He writ a long Letter to a *French* man, giving him an account of all the severities of the Queen's Government, both against Papists and Puritans.

Severities against the Papists were necessary.

The substance of which is, ' That the Queen laid down two Maxims of State ; ' the one was not to force Consciences, ' the other was not to let factious practices go unpunished, because they were covered with the pretences of Conscience : ' At first, she did not revive those severe ' Laws past in her Father's time, by which ' the refusal of the Oath of Supremacy ' was made Treason, but left her People ' to the freedom of their thoughts, and ' made

Sir *Fr. Walsingham's* account of the steps in which she proceeded.

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made it only Penal to extol a foreign Jurisdiction: She also laid aside the word *Supream Head*, and the refusers of the Oath were only disabled from holding Benefices, or Charges, during their Refusal. Upon *Pius* the Fifth's Excommunicating her, though the Rebellion in the North was chiefly occasioned by that, she only made a Law against the bringing over, or publishing of Bulls; and the venting of *Agnus Dei's*, or such other Love-tokens, which were sent from *Rome*, on design to draw the Hearts of her People from her, which were no Essential parts of that Religion; so that this could hurt none of their Consciences. But when after the 20th. Year of her Reign, it appeared that the King of *Spain* designed to Invade her Dominions, and that the Priests that were sent over from the Seminaries beyond Sea, were generally employed to corrupt the Subjects in their Allegiance, by which, Treason was carried in the Clouds, and Infused secretly in Confession; Then pecuniary Punishments were inflicted on such as withdrew from the Church: and in Conclusion, she was forced to make Laws of greater rigour, but did often mitigate the severity of them, to all that would promise to adhere to her, in case of a Foreign Invasion. As for the Puritans, as long as they only inveighed against some abuses, as

Plura.

Pluralities, Non-residence, or the like, it was not their Zeal against those, but only their Violence that was condemned: When they refused to comply with some Ceremonies, and questioned the superiority of Bishops, and declared for a Democracy in the Church, they were connived at with great gentleness: But it was observed, that they affected Popularity much, and the Methods they took to compass their ends, were judged dangerous, and they made such use of the aversion the Nation had to Popery, that it was visible they were in a hazzard of running from one Extream to another: They set up a New Model of Church-Discipline, which was like to prove no less dangerous to the Liberties of private Men, than to the Sovereign Power of the Prince: Yet all this was born with, as long as they proceeded with those expressions of duty, which became Subjects. But afterwards, when they resolved to carry on their Designs, without waiting for the consent of the Magistrate, and entred into Combinations; when they began to defame the Government by ridiculous Pasquils, and boasted of their Numbers and strength, and in some Places brake out into Tumults, then it appeared that it was Faction, and not Zeal, that animated them. Upon that, the Queen found it necessary to restrain

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them, more than she had done formerly; yet she did it with all the Moderation that could consist with the Peace of the Church and State. And thus, from this Letter, an Idea of this whole Reign may be justly formed.

*The Conclusion.*

Thus have I prosecuted, what I at first undertook, the Progress of the Reformation, from its first, and small beginnings in *England*, till it came to a compleat settlement in the time of this Queen. Of whose Reign, if I have adventured to give an Account, it was not intended so much for a full Character of Her, and her Councils, as to set out the great, and visible Blessings of God that attended on her; the many Preservations she had, and that by such signal Discoveries, as both sav'd her Life, and secured her Government; and the unusual happiness of her whole Reign, which raised Her to the Esteem, and envy of that Age, and the wonder of all Posterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a Virgin Queen could rule such a Kingdom, for above 44 Years, with such constant success, in so great Tranquillity at home, with a vast increase of Wealth, and with such Glory abroad. All which may justly be esteemed to have been the Rewards of Heaven, crowning that Reign with so much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Reformation of Religion.

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